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GETTYSBURG

NATIONAL MILITARY PARK AND NATIONAL CEMETERY • PENNSYLVANIA





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by

Harlan D. Unrau

**GETTYSBURG NATIONAL MILITARY PARK AND
GETTYSBURG NATIONAL CEMETERY • PENNSYLVANIA**

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR / NATIONAL PARK SERVICE

PREFACE

This administrative history has been prepared to satisfy in part the research needs as stated in the task directive (approved by Mid-Atlantic Regional Director James W. Coleman, Jr., in a memorandum dated May 7, 1985) concerning Gettysburg National Military Park and Gettysburg National Cemetery, Administrative History under MARO Package No. 250. The purpose of this study is the collection, evaluation and presentation of historical research data pertaining to the conception, establishment, development, and operation of the park and cemetery. It is intended that this study will provide a knowledge of the problems faced and actions taken by past park managers, thus providing present and future park administrators with a more informed background about the successes, failures, and ongoing or recurring issues of the past and greater awareness for management decision-making.

A number of persons have assisted in the preparation of this report. Edwin C. Bearss, Chief Historian, and Barry Mackintosh, Bureau Historian, both of the National Park Service's (NPS) Washington Office (WASO) provided direction for the project and made available to me WASO files on the park. Special thanks are due to Mid-Atlantic Regional Office (MARO) Director James W. Coleman, Jr., and members of his staff (John W. Bond, then Associate Regional Director, Cultural Resource Management; Clifford L. Tobias, Regional Historian), and retired Deputy Regional Director George A. Palmer (since deceased), for sharing their ideas on the nature of research required for the project and making available to me the regional office files for research purposes. My appreciation also extends to former Superintendent John R. Earnst and Historian Kathleen R. Georg (now Harrison) of Gettysburg National Military Park for helping me to understand the park administrative research needs and expectations for this report, making available the extensive park archives and library holdings for research purposes, and providing the names of persons to interview and the repositories to consult for research data. Historian Harrison also provided an in-depth review of the draft study and provided clarifying language which was incorporated into the narrative and the footnotes.

My thanks also go to the staffs of the various repositories I visited and consulted during my research. One of the unexpected benefits of undertaking this study was the opportunity to contact a number of persons who have been involved in the administration, planning, and operation of Gettysburg. I am indebted to all those who allowed me to interview them either in person or by telephone.

Three administrators of the former Northeast Team of the Denver Service Center provided encouragement for the project. These persons were: Gerald D. Patten, Assistant Manager; Nan V. Rickey, Chief, Branch of Cultural Resources; and Ronald W. Johnson, Chief, History Research Section.

The first draft of this study was completed in December 1985 and submitted for review in 1986. Funding for revisions to the draft of this study and for printing were finally arranged in fiscal year 1990 as the result of efforts by Chief Historian Bearss and Associate Regional Director Bond. During this latter stage of the project my present supervisor on the Western Team of the Denver Service Center, Maurice L. Miller, provided encouragement for the project.

Harlan D. Unrau
April 1991

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

On the rolling farm lands surrounding the little town of Gettysburg, Pennsylvania, was fought one of the great decisive battles of American history. During three days, from July 1 to 3, 1863, a tremendous struggle between some 75,000 Confederates of the Army of Northern Virginia under General Robert E. Lee, and 97,000 Union troops of the Army of the Potomac under General George G. Meade raged about the town and left some 51,000 casualties in its wake. More men died than in any other battle fought before or since on North American soil. Heroic deeds were numerous on both sides, climaxed by the famed Confederate assault on July 3 which has become known throughout the world as Pickett's Charge. The Union victory gained on these fields ended the last Confederate invasion of the North during the Civil War and marked the beginning of a gradual decline in Southern military power.

As the result of the efforts of two Gettysburg attorneys, David McConaughy and David Wills, land was purchased for the establishment of a national cemetery as a burial ground for the soldiers who died in the conflict. On November 19, 1863, President Abraham Lincoln dedicated Soldiers' National Cemetery with his memorable Gettysburg Address. Lincoln paid tribute to those who fell at Gettysburg in defense of the Union and spoke of the high purpose of dedicating part of that ground as a final resting place ". . . for those who gave their lives that the nation might live." In a sense, the Gettysburg Address dedicated the entire field of battle.

The effort to establish and develop Soldiers' National Cemetery proceeded quickly. On March 25, 1864, a law was enacted in Pennsylvania incorporating the cemetery. Soldiers' National Monument was dedicated on July 1, 1869, with Major General George G. Meade as principal speaker. The cemetery was transferred to the federal government on May 1, 1872, and thereafter it was administered by the U.S. War Department until 1933 as part of the national cemetery system.

While the national cemetery at Gettysburg was being developed under the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania and the U.S. War Department, preservation of significant portions of the battlefield continued under the auspices of the Gettysburg Battlefield Memorial Association (GBMA). On April 30, 1864, the legislature of Pennsylvania conferred upon the association the rights of a corporation "to hold and preserve, the battle-grounds of Gettysburg. . . and by such perpetuation, and such memorial structures as a generous and patriotic people may aid to erect, to commemorate the heroic deeds, the struggles, and the

triumphs of their brave defenders." McConaughy, who held key topographic features of the battlefield in trust for the GBMA, was reimbursed for his prior purchases from commonwealth appropriations in 1867-68. The battlefield was surveyed and mapped under the direction of Brevet Major General G.K. Warren, Major of Engineers, in 1868-69 for use in military instruction and for documentation to accompany the Official Records of the war.

The first monuments on the Gettysburg battlefield were erected in 1878-79. During a reunion encampment on East Cemetery Hill during the summer of 1878 the Grand Army of the Republic (GAR) of Pennsylvania erected upon Little Round Top a marble tablet to mark the spot where General Strong Vincent was mortally wounded – the first monument of any kind to be placed on the battlefield outside the cemetery. The following summer the 2d Massachusetts Infantry placed a bronze and granite monument near Spangler's Spring – the first regimental monument on the battlefield.

In 1880 the GAR gained control of the GBMA and thereafter provided renewed impetus to battlefield development. In 1887, for instance, the GBMA purchased the house used as headquarters by Meade during the battle, determined that only bronze or granite monuments and memorials would be permitted on its grounds, selected the names for avenues on the battlefield, and resolved that monuments were to be placed at the location held by regiments in the line of battle. The initiatives to improve the battlefield and to erect markers and memorials were spurred on by the preparations for the twenty-fifth anniversary commemoration of the battle on July 3-4, 1888. The ceremonies featured a reenactment of Pickett's Charge and dedication of 133 regimental monuments.

As the result of a lawsuit against the GBMA, the Supreme Court of the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania decided in favor of the 72d Pennsylvania in 1891, thus allowing the regiment to place its monument at the "advanced" position of its troops outside the line of battle. This "line of battle" rule, however, continued to be the guiding standard for the monument policy of the GBMA and later the U.S. War Department and National Park Service.

Despite the efforts of the GBMA at Gettysburg two conspicuous omissions in the work of preservation and marking still remained by the late 1880s. These were the acquisition and marking of locations occupied by the commands of the regular U.S. Army and the Army of Northern Virginia. The need existed for the impartial United States government to correct these deficiencies, and the establishment of Gettysburg National Military Park emerged as a result of congressional efforts during the late 1880s and early 1890s. On May 25, 1893, Secretary of War Daniel S. Lamont appointed a Gettysburg National Military Park

Commission, consisting of John P. Nicholson, John B. Bachelder, and William H. Forney. A bill (H.R. 8096) "to establish a National Military Park at Gettysburg, Pennsylvania" was introduced by Representative Daniel E. Sickles of New York on December 6, 1894, and on February 11, 1895, an amended bill (H.R. 8253) was signed into law (28 Stat. 651) by President Grover Cleveland. The GBMA turned its holdings over to the federal government, and the U.S. War Department assumed jurisdiction of the battlefield, which then included 522 acres, some 17 miles of avenues, many of which were still dirt car paths, and 320 monuments.

In a landmark decision on January 27, 1896, the United States Supreme Court ruled in *United States v. Gettysburg Electric Railway Company* that the government had the right to condemn private land to preserve the battlefield. The decision established the principle that the preservation of nationally significant historic sites and buildings is a legitimate purpose of the federal government. Hence the decision was not only important in stopping construction of a railway intrusion on the Gettysburg battlefield, but was an early component of historic preservation law in the United States.

Iron markers had been erected at each of the positions of the U.S. Regulars on the battlefield during the 1890s. During 1907-08 United States Regular Army monuments and a large obelisk were erected on the battlefield as a result of appropriations to the regimental associations. On May 31, 1909, the monuments were dedicated with ceremonies featuring President William H. Taft as speaker.

The four-day fiftieth anniversary of the Battle of Gettysburg was observed July 1-4, 1913. Attended by more than 50,000 veterans of the Civil War, the anniversary reunion featured an address by President Woodrow Wilson on July 4. Pickett's Charge was reenacted on July 3 with 120 veterans of Pickett's Division "charging" 180 veterans of the Philadelphia Brigade from a distance of 100 feet before meeting at the stone wall for a ceremonial handshake.

Because of increasing complaints about the operation of the battlefield guides at Gettysburg, the War Department issued regulations for licensing the guides in 1915. Written examinations were given and 91 guides were approved for licensing.

The park was often used as a summer encampment site for the Pennsylvania National Guard, GAR, and numerous regimental associations in the years before World War I. During World War I portions of the Gettysburg battlefield were used for military training. On March 6, 1918, Camp Colt was established to train tank units for service in Europe under the

command of Captain Dwight D. Eisenhower, who would later become President of the United States.

The battlefield continued to be used by various military contingents for study and maneuvers after the war. On July 3, 1922, for instance, some 5,500 U.S. Marines staged a reenactment of Pickett's Charge first as it was made in 1863 and then as such a charge would be conducted under existing warfare conditions with modern equipment and maneuvers. President Warren G. Harding and General of the Armies John J. Pershing witnessed the event.

Administration of Gettysburg National Military Park and Gettysburg National Cemetery was transferred from the War Department to the Department of the Interior by Executive Order 6166 issued on June 10, 1933. The executive order, which provided for a major reorganization of the executive branch of government, was the culmination of a seventeen-year campaign to consolidate administration of all federal parks and monuments under the National Park Service.

During July 1-4, 1938, the 75th anniversary of the Battle of Gettysburg was attended by 1,845 Civil War veterans. On the 3d President Franklin D. Roosevelt dedicated the Eternal Light Peace Memorial before a crowd estimated by some at 200,000.

The National Park Service acquired the Gettysburg Cyclorama on February 21, 1942. The cyclorama was restored under the direction of NPS conservator Walter J. Nitkiewicz in 1960 and installed in the park's new Visitor Center – Cyclorama Building. The structure was built as part of the Park Service's Mission 66 program and dedicated on November 19, 1962. The new facility, which also housed the park's administrative offices, was the park's first visitor center in its 67-year history.

The centennial commemoration of the battle was held July 1-3, 1963, and that of the Gettysburg Address on November 19. Largely as a result of the centennial events visitation to Gettysburg in 1963 was the highest in the history of the park to date. Park Service estimates of visitation for the year were 2,041,378, the first time that the 2,000,000 mark had been passed.

In May 1971 the George D. Rosensteel family sold the Gettysburg National Museum and Electric Map to the federal government. The National Park Service assumed control of the museum's operation in October 1973, and the following year the museum building was redesignated and opened as the park visitor center and the former visitor center was designated the Cyclorama Center.

After a lengthy 14-year effort a General Management Plan for the park was approved on December 1, 1982. The plan was developed to confront a series of critical issues that have faced the National Park Service in recent years in its efforts to protect, preserve, and interpret the battlefield for the benefit and inspiration of present and future generations. Increasing numbers of visitors to the park have resulted in traffic congestion in Gettysburg and the need for improved access routes to the park. Population growth, rising land values, residential and commercial development, and expansion of tourist industry facilities in the town and surrounding area have exerted increasing pressures on land in the vicinity of the park. Significant areas beyond the park boundaries have been impacted and altered, thus resulting in intrusions on the park's historic setting. One of the prime examples of such impacts was the opening of the controversial 307-foot National Gettysburg Battlefield tower just outside the park boundary on July 29, 1974. To counter such intrusions as the tower and preserve the integrity of the battlefield's historic scene every master plan for the park through the 1960s stressed the need to preserve and protect certain historic tracts from encroachment or development. The park staff worked with local and state agencies to preserve and protect historic lands.

The General Management Plan also sought to address National Park Service operation and development within the park. The influx of visitors had resulted in overcrowding of visitor services and parking facilities and overuse of portions of the park. Once in the park the visitor was confronted with a battlefield tour that did not present the battle in chronological order, and portions of the tour route intruded on historic scenes that did not have roads at the time of the battle. The park's visitor center was housed in a large 1920s-era brick building located in a prime historical area of the battlefield and adjacent to the cemetery. The park's administrative, curatorial, and maintenance operations were scattered throughout the park, resulting in fragmentation that limited an effective system of park management and operations. Other pressing problems included underfunding for monument cleaning, decaying buildings, acid rain and erosion, and overuse of popular sites. Thus, Gettysburg National Military Park, which had been one of the premier historical areas in the National Park System and a "showcase" for Park Service administrative policies governing such areas since 1933, faced major challenges as it sought to fulfill its mission.

During the years following 1982 actions have been undertaken to correct some of these shortcomings. One such change, for instance, was the establishment of a new chronological tour route.

As a result of ongoing National Park Service attention to the critical issues facing the park, the management objectives contained in the 1982 General Management Plan were

revised in 1988 and again in 1990 at workshops attended by park and regional office staff. (Copies of the 1988 and 1990 management objectives may be seen in Appendixes A and B, respectively.) Because of the controversy over the park's treatment of its monuments a *Monument Condition Assessment Report Conservation and Maintenance Manual: Stone and Bronze Conditions and Treatment* was prepared and published in 1991. On August 17, 1990, President George Bush signed Public Law 101-377, establishing both a new park boundary, involving a 2,000-acre increase, and an eleven-member Gettysburg National Military Park Advisory Commission to encourage conservation and preservation policies and coordinate the management of the park and the Gettysburg Battlefield Historic District with local jurisdictions. Thus, the National Park Service commenced a series of actions to implement new land protection and preservation initiatives for the park. (A copy of Public Law 101-377 may be seen in Appendix C.)

CONTENTS

PREFACE	iii
EXECUTIVE SUMMARY	v
CHAPTER I: ESTABLISHMENT OF SOLDIERS' NATIONAL CEMETERY AND EARLY EFFORTS TO ACQUIRE LAND ENCOMPASSED WITHIN THE PRINCIPAL BATTLE AREA AT GETTYSBURG: 1863	1
CHAPTER II: OPERATION AND DEVELOPMENT OF SOLDIERS' NATIONAL CEMETERY UNDER THE COMMONWEALTH OF PENNSYLVANIA: 1864-1872	15
CHAPTER III: OPERATION AND DEVELOPMENT OF GETTYSBURG NATIONAL CEMETERY UNDER THE U.S. WAR DEPARTMENT: 1872-1933	27
CHAPTER IV: PRESERVATION EFFORTS OF THE GETTYSBURG BATTLEFIELD MEMORIAL ASSOCIATION: 1864-1895	41
CHAPTER V: ESTABLISHMENT OF GETTYSBURG NATIONAL MILITARY PARK: 1895	67
EFFORTS TOWARD FEDERAL REGULATION OF THE GETTYSBURG BATTLEFIELD	67
ESTABLISHMENT OF GETTYSBURG PARK COMMISSION	70
GETTYSBURG ELECTRIC RAILROAD CASE	75
ESTABLISHMENT OF GETTYSBURG NATIONAL MILITARY PARK	77
EARLY LEGISLATION CLARIFYING AND SUPPLEMENTING ACT ESTABLISHING GETTYSBURG NATIONAL MILITARY PARK	84
FIRST REGULATIONS FOR OPERATION OF PARK	87
CHAPTER VI: ADMINISTRATION OF GETTYSBURG NATIONAL MILITARY PARK UNDER THE GETTYSBURG NATIONAL MILITARY PARK COMMISSION:	
1895-1922	91
THE YEARS 1895-1905	91
THE YEARS 1905-1922	101
CHAPTER VII: ADMINISTRATION OF GETTYSBURG NATIONAL MILITARY PARK UNDER THE WAR DEPARTMENT: 1922-1933	121

CHAPTER VIII:

ADMINISTRATION OF GETTYSBURG NATIONAL MILITARY PARK AND CEMETERY UNDER THE NATIONAL PARK SERVICE: 1933-1941	139
TRANSFER OF WAR DEPARTMENT MILITARY PARKS TO THE NATIONAL PARK SERVICE: 1933	139
NATIONAL PARK SERVICE POLICIES FOR HISTORICAL AREAS DURING THE 1930s	144
INITIAL NATIONAL PARK SERVICE ADMINISTRATIVE EFFORTS IN THE PARK AND CEMETERY DURING 1933-34	146
EMERGENCY CONSERVATION WORK (ECW) AND OTHER DEPRESSION-ERA PUBLIC WORKS PROJECTS AT GETTYSBURG: 1933-1941	154
OPERATION OF GETTYSBURG NATIONAL MILITARY PARK: 1934-1941	166
Administration	166
Protection Services	170
Maintenance	174
Finances	176
Education, Research, and Interpretation	177
Visitation	180
Special Occasions	182
Park Planning	186
Development of Farm Policy	188
Regulation of Licensed Battlefield Guide Service	193
Park Response to Intrusions on Historic Values	199
Efforts of Gettysburg Historians' Association and Pennsylvania Department of the Loyal Legion to Aid Battlefield Preservation	204
Park Superintendent's Residence	206
Vista Cutting	208
Acquisition of Cyclorama By National Park Service	209
Publications	211
OPERATION OF GETTYSBURG NATIONAL CEMETERY: 1934-1941	212
Administration	212
Protection Services	213
Maintenance, Repairs, and Alterations	213
Finances	214
Visitation	215
Special Occasions	215

CHAPTER IX:

ADMINISTRATION OF GETTYSBURG NATIONAL MILITARY PARK AND CEMETERY UNDER THE NATIONAL PARK SERVICE DURING THE 1940s	217
INTRODUCTION	217
GETTYSBURG NATIONAL MILITARY PARK	218
Military Utilization of Park Land	218
Park Restoration Activities	221
Park Interpretive Program	222
Installation of Interpretive Markers and Field Exhibits	223

Planning for Automobile Tour Route and	
Administration-Museum Building	224
Park Land Acquisition Program	231
Removal of Round Top Railroad From Park	232
Park Maintenance Operations	233
Park Agricultural Policy	235
Park Public Relations	237
Licensed Battlefield Guide Service	238
Park Research Program	240
Park Visitation	241
Intrusions on Park Historic Scene	243
Park Vandalism	243
Park Personnel	244
Park Road System	244
Park Concession Bus Tours	246
Operation of Cyclorama	246
GETTYSBURG NATIONAL CEMETERY	247
Cemetery Operations	247
Enlargement of Cemetery	249
Designation of Dedication Day	251

CHAPTER X:

ADMINISTRATION OF GETTYSBURG NATIONAL MILITARY PARK AND CEMETERY UNDER THE NATIONAL PARK SERVICE DURING THE 1950s

AND 1960s	253
INTRODUCTION	253
PARK ADMINISTRATION	254
MISSION 66 PROGRAM FOR GETTYSBURG	257
CONSTRUCTION OF NEW VISITOR CENTER	257
PARK MASTER PLAN, MISSION 66 EDITION	260
GETTYSBURG CENTENNIAL COMMEMORATION	262
PARK LAND ACQUISITION PROGRAM	264
PARK INTERPRETATION PROGRAM	273
PARK RESEARCH PROGRAM	276
PARK RESTORATION PROGRAM	277
PARK VISITATION	277
CRIME AND VANDALISM IN THE PARK	281
PARK TREE AND BRUSH REMOVAL PROJECTS	281
PARK MAINTENANCE PROGRAM	282
LICENSED BATTLEFIELD GUIDE SERVICE	283
IMPACT OF EISENHOWER HOME ON PARK	287

CHAPTER XI:

ADMINISTRATION OF GETTYSBURG NATIONAL MILITARY PARK AND CEMETERY UNDER THE NATIONAL PARK SERVICE: 1970-1982

INTRODUCTION	291
PARK ADMINISTRATION	291
PARK OPERATIONS EVALUATION	292
PARK MASTER PLAN	296

PARK LAND ACQUISITION AND BATTLEFIELD PRESERVATION PROGRAMS	310
GETTYSBURG BATTLEFIELD TOWER CONTROVERSY	316
ACQUISITION OF GETTYSBURG NATIONAL MUSEUM	324
PARK INTERPRETIVE OPERATIONS	325
PARK HISTORIC PRESERVATION PROGRAM	327
PARK SPECIAL USE PERMITS	328
PARK NATURAL RESOURCE MANAGEMENT PROGRAM	329
PARK WILDLIFE MANAGEMENT PROGRAM	331
PARK ENVIRONMENTAL EDUCATION PROGRAM	332
PARK LAW ENFORCEMENT PROGRAM	333
PARK RESEARCH PROGRAM	334
PARK PUBLIC AND MEDIA RELATIONS PROGRAM	335
PARK VISITATION	336
PARK SPECIAL EVENTS	337
PARK CAMPGROUND	338
FEDERAL YOUTH EMPLOYMENT PROGRAMS	338
Neighborhood Youth Corps	340
Youth Conservation Corps	340
Young Adult Conservation Corps	341
VOLUNTEERS-IN-PARKS PROGRAM	341
HISTORIC GETTYSBURG-ADAMS COUNTY, INC.	342
EASTERN NATIONAL PARK AND MONUMENT ASSOCIATION	343
CEMETERY OPERATIONS	344
 EPILOGUE	 345
 APPENDIXES	 347
APPENDIX A: GETTYSBURG NATIONAL MILITARY PARK: MANAGEMENT OBJECTIVES, 1988	 349
APPENDIX B: MANAGEMENT OBJECTIVES, GETTYSBURG NATIONAL MILITARY PARK, GETTYSBURG NATIONAL CEMETERY, OCTOBER 1990	 357
APPENDIX C: PUBLIC LAW 101-377, AUGUST 17, 1990	361
APPENDIX D: REMARKS ON THE DESIGN FOR THE SOLDIERS' NATIONAL CEMETERY, GETTYSBURG, PA.	365
APPENDIX E: AN ACT TO INCORPORATE THE SOLDIERS' NATIONAL CEMETERY	368
APPENDIX F: SOLDIERS' CEMETERY AT GETTYSBURG Inspected August 23, 1871.	371
APPENDIX G: AN ACT TO INCORPORATE THE GETTYSBURG BATTLE- FIELD MEMORIAL ASSOCIATION	374
APPENDIX H: A SUPPLEMENT TO AN ACT ENTITLED "AN ACT TO INCORPORATE THE GETTYSBURG BATTLE-FIELD MEMORIAL ASSOCIATION," APPROVED APRIL 30, 1864	376
APPENDIX I: DIRECTORS OF THE GETTYSBURG MEMORIAL BATTLEFIELD ASSOCIATION: 1872-1880	378
APPENDIX J: AMENDMENTS TO CHARTER OF GETTYSBURG BATTLEFIELD MEMORIAL ASSOCIATION: APRIL 21, 1885	381

APPENDIX K: BY-LAWS OF GETTYSBURG BATTLEFIELD MEMORIAL ASSOCIATION: JUNE 16, 1885	383
APPENDIX L: REGULATIONS FOR ERECTIONS OF MONUMENTS AND MEMORIALS ON THE GROUNDS OF THE GBMA: JULY 3, 1888	385
APPENDIX M: AN ACT TO ESTABLISH A NATIONAL MILITARY PARK AT GETTYSBURG, PENNSYLVANIA, APPROVED FEBRUARY 11, 1895 (28 STAT. 651)	388
APPENDIX N: REGULATIONS FOR THE GOVERNMENT OF THE GETTYSBURG NATIONAL MILITARY PARK, GETTYSBURG, PENNA., 1911	392
APPENDIX O: REGULATIONS FOR BATTLEFIELD GUIDES AT GETTYSBURG: 1915	397
APPENDIX P: REGULATIONS FOR GUIDE SERVICE AT GETTYSBURG: 1927-1930	402
APPENDIX Q: WAR DEPARTMENT REGULATIONS FOR NATIONAL MILITARY PARKS, ETC., ISSUED JUNE 1, 1933	408
APPENDIX R: NATIONAL PARK SERVICE RESTORATION POLICIES, MAY 19, 1937	415
APPENDIX S: HISTORY OF CCC CAMP NO. 2 AT GETTYSBURG, JUNE 22, 1936	418
APPENDIX T: MANAGEMENT OBJECTIVES FOR GETTYSBURG NATIONAL MILITARY PARK IN GENERAL MANAGEMENT PLAN, DECEMBER 1, 1982	420
APPENDIX U: MANAGEMENT OBJECTIVES FOR GETTYSBURG NATIONAL CEMETERY IN GENERAL MANAGEMENT PLAN, DECEMBER 1, 1982	424
RECOMMENDATIONS	427
REPOSITORIES VISITED DURING RESEARCH	428
ANNOTATED BIBLIOGRAPHY	429

CHAPTER I:
ESTABLISHMENT OF SOLDIERS' NATIONAL CEMETERY AND EARLY EFFORTS
TO ACQUIRE LAND ENCOMPASSED WITHIN THE PRINCIPAL BATTLE AREA AT
GETTYSBURG: 1863

The Union and Confederate soldiers who moved south from Gettysburg in July 1863 left behind thousands of fallen comrades, a devastated Pennsylvania landscape, and the basis for one of our most powerful patriotic legends. Almost at once the battle was recognized not merely as a crucial Union victory but also as an event with broader historical and cultural significance in the wider sweep of Western experience. Major American newspapers compared the battle at Gettysburg with Waterloo and Thermopylae in the days following the fighting. In the weeks and years that followed, such comparisons were often repeated, as Americans demonstrated an almost insatiable interest in the three-day struggle and in Abraham Lincoln's two-minute address at the consecration of the Soldiers' National Cemetery.¹

The appalling scenes at Gettysburg in the aftermath of the battle were described in many publications. One such eyewitness, a volunteer with the U.S. Christian Commission from Philadelphia, arrived in the town on July 10, one week after the battle ended. Although this volunteer spent only four days at Gettysburg the destruction, suffering, and horror of the battle's aftermath left an indelible impression on him which he later described in *Harper's Monthly*:

The journey to the scene of action was by no means without incident: bridges, railroads, every thing within rebel reach, had been destroyed; horses, wagons, and even cattle had been carried off, and travel was difficult. Now and then some dilapidated vehicle crept cautiously along the highway; occasionally a company of returning refugees crowded to join our little caravan; but otherwise the pulses of life seemed to have stopped their beating in all the smitten region. Even sleeping accommodations were scarcely to be had; as we neared our destination every house seemed to be stripped of the most ordinary conveniences.

1. John S. Patterson, "A Patriotic Landscape: Gettysburg, 1863-1913," in *The Annual of American Cultural Studies Prospects*, edited by Jack Salzman (New York 1982), VII, 315. For more data on the Battle of Gettysburg see Maurice Matloff, ed., *Army Historical Series: American Military History* (Washington, 1969), pp. 249-54; J.G. Randall and David Donald, *The Civil War and Reconstruction* (2d ed., Rev., Boston, 1969), pp. 401-05, Edwin B. Coddington, *The Gettysburg Campaign: A Study in Command* (New York, 1968); and Bruce Catton, *The Battle of Gettysburg* (New York, 1963) and *Gettysburg: The Final Fury* (New York, 1974). For more information on landscape issues at the national cemetery see Reed L. Engle, *Cultural Landscape Report: The Soldiers' National Cemetery, Gettysburg, Pennsylvania* (Draft, August, 1989).

We arrived at Gettysburg in a drizzling rain, on the evening of Friday, July 10, and, reporting at the head-quarters of the Christian Commission, were immediately assigned to duty at the Second Army Corps field-hospital, situated on a wooded slope on the Baltimore pike, some four miles from the town. The scene which presented itself as we proceeded toward our destination no words can depict. Every where the scars and rents of the conflict which had raged along these hills were painfully visible. Every field was an Aceldama. Every tree was scarred and torn, a chilly blight resting upon its summer crown of beauty. Almost every bush was a lair into which some one had crept for refuge, and found it in agonizing death. Far and near along the hills and in the stretches of lowlands tents stood out against the gathering shadows, revealing where the wounded and dying lay. Here and there great girdles of fire blazoned the slopes, telling of slaughtered animals slowly consuming. Broken caissons, knapsacks, canteens, and small-arms were strewn on every path. Fences were prostrate, and blood sprinkled every tuft of grass which the feet of the contending armies had not tramped down. The houses presented marks of the conflict. One, which was occupied as a hospital, revealed a gaping wound in the second story, where a cannon-ball had gone straight through, shattering as it went a mirror hanging on the wall, but leaving the frame without a blemish. . . .

Summing up his observations, the U.S. Christian Commission worker echoed the sentiments of many Americans of his day as to the national importance of what had taken place at Gettysburg:

At Gettysburg a blow was struck which turned the tide of adverse fortune, saved the North from desolation, and lifted the people from the depths of despondency to new and serene heights of hope and duty. Let us not forget to commemorate the deeds of those who perished in achieving this sublime result. . . . Shall we not . . . tell to future time the story of that field in a monument on Cemetery Hill, with this simple inscription: "Pilgrim I go and proclaim at the Capitol and all abroad that we, soldiers of the Republic, fell here in defense of its laws, its liberties, and its life?"²

An equally graphic description of the scene of carnage in the aftermath of the battle was provided by M. Jacobs, a professor at Pennsylvania College in Gettysburg. He observed in an article printed in the *United States Service Magazine* in January 1864:

Since the 4th of July, many thousands of visitors have come for the purpose of taking a view of this now sacred locality, passing from point to point for the purpose of impressing upon their minds the scenes of deepest interest which were enacted here. For several days after the battle, the field yet everywhere bore the fresh marks of the terrible struggle. The soil was yet red

2. "Four Days at Gettysburg," *Harper's Magazine*, XXVIII (February, 1864), 381-83, 388.

with the blood of the wounded and slain, and large numbers of the dead of both armies were to be seen lying in the place where the fatal missiles struck them. They lay thickest where the fight had been the hottest and most obstinate. But after the lapse of a week all the Union soldiers that were wounded and killed, and nearly all of those of the rebels, had been gathered up, the dead decently interred, and the wounded taken to hospitals and cared for. The work, however, of interring nine thousand dead and removing about twenty thousand wounded to comfortable quarters, was a herculean task. The rebel army had left the most of their dead lying unburied on the field, as also large numbers of their badly wounded, and had fled for safety. Their aid could, consequently, but be rendered available in performing these friendly offices for their former associates in arms. The great body of the Army of the Potomac had necessarily been hurried off in pursuit of the retreating enemy, leaving behind them only a sufficient force to guard the public stores and the rebel prisoners and to aid as hospital nurses. . . .

But after the wounded and dead soldiers had been removed, the battle-field was not deprived of many of the most impressive evidences of the severity of the terrible struggle. The carcasses of about three thousand horses, according to the testimony of an army officer, the most of which were killed by shells and shot from the artillery, were lying singly and in groups, and filled the air for miles around with effluvia so offensive as to render it a severe task to visit the field of death. Trees were scarred and shattered, thousands of minie balls, of solid shot and shells, lay scattered over the ground, and cast-off coats, knapsacks, blankets, cartouch-boxes, canteens, scabbards, and other accoutrements in vast numbers, were everywhere to be met with. About twenty thousand rifles and muskets were gathered up for the Government by the officer in charge. Fences were swept away, houses shattered, and the fields trodden down like a highway. It seemed as if a furious hurricane had passed over our town, sweeping with destructive violence everything before it.³

It was in the midst of these tragic scenes and patriotic sentiments that plans were initiated which would eventually result in Gettysburg National Cemetery and Gettysburg National Military Park. On July 24, David Wills, a prominent Gettysburg attorney who had been overseeing the removal of the bodies of Pennsylvania soldiers from the battlefield, wrote Governor Andrew G. Curtin, urging the "propriety" and "necessity" of acquiring land for a "burial ground." He observed:

Mr. Seymour is here on behalf of his brother, the Governor of New York, to look after the wounded, etc., on the battle field, and I have suggested to him, and also the Rev. Mr. Cross, of Baltimore, and others, the propriety

3. M. Jacobs, "Later Rambles Over the Field of Gettysburg," *United States Service Magazine*, I (January, 1864), 69-72. Also see A. H. Nickerson, "Personal Recollections of Two Visits to Gettysburg," *Scribner's Magazine*, XIV (July, 1893), 19-28.

and actual necessity of the purchase of a common burial ground for the dead, now only partially buried over miles of country around Gettysburg.

There is one spot very desirable for this purpose. It is the elevated piece of ground on the Baltimore turnpike, opposite the Cemetery. It is the place where our army had about forty pieces of artillery in action all Thursday and Friday, and for their protection had thrown up a large number of earthworks for the artillerists. It is the point on which the desperate attack was made by the Louisiana Brigades on Thursday evening, when they succeeded in reaching the guns, taking possession of them, and were finally driven back by the Infantry, assisted with the artillery men, with their handspikes and rammers. It was the key to the whole line of our defences, the apex of the triangular line of battle. It is the spot above all others for the *honorable burial* of the dead who have fallen on those fields. There are two lots of ground, together making eight acres, about three and a half acres belonging to Mr. Raffensperger, and four and a half to Mr. Menchy, and I called on them for the purpose of ascertaining whether it could be bought. They would not sell it for any other purpose, but offer to sell it for the purpose named for \$200 per acre each. This is not much out of the way, and I think it should be secured at once and the project started. I refer the matter to you for your careful consideration and decision. . . .

My idea is for Pennsylvania to purchase the ground at once, so as to furnish a place for the friends of those who are here seeking places for the permanent burial of their fallen ones, to inter them at once, and also be a place for the burial of the hundreds who are dying here in the hospitals. The other States would certainly, through their Legislatures, in co-operation with our own Legislature, contribute towards defraying the expenses of appropriately arranging and decorating the grounds. The graves that are marked on the field would, of course, be properly marked when removed to the Cemetery, and the bodies should be arranged, as far as practicable, in order of Companies, Regiments, Divisions and Corps. . . .⁴

Two weeks prior to Wills' letter Governor Curtin had traveled to Gettysburg to view the battlefield, visit the hospitals, and implement arrangements to alleviate the suffering of the wounded and dying. Thus, Curtin quickly approved the plans submitted by Wills, appointed him agent of the commonwealth, and authorized him to begin correspondence with the governors of other northern states whose soldiers had been killed in the battle and whose

4. Wills to Curtin, July 24, 1863, printed in John Russell Bartlett, *The Soldiers' National Cemetery at Gettysburg* (Providence, 1874), pp. 1-2. Theodore S. Dimon, working with John F. Seymour, New York's general agent, had also come to Gettysburg soon after the battle to look after the needs of that state's wounded and dead. Dimon also promoted the national cemetery concept at Gettysburg, and, according to park historian Kathleen R. Georg, probably was the "founder" of the idea. Kathleen R. Georg, "This Grand National Enterprise: The Origins of Gettysburg's Soldiers' National Cemetery and Gettysburg Battlefield Memorial Association," May, 1982 (Revised November, 1982), pp. 3-9, Vertical Files, GNMP Library. In pp. 9-15 of this study Georg elaborates on the implications and historical context of the July 24 letter. About this same time on August 10 the future battlefield historian John B. Bachelder addressed proposals similar to those of Wills to Curtin.

bodies were buried on the battlefield. Wills immediately undertook the correspondence and took steps to purchase the land necessary for the contemplated cemetery.⁵

When Wills attempted to purchase the eastern part of Cemetery Hill, he was dismayed to find that it had already been bought by another Gettysburg attorney, David McConaughy.⁶ As the president of the Evergreen Cemetery Association McConaughy was engaged in a crusade of his own. In an open letter written to friends on August 19, 1863, McConaughy described his plans for Gettysburg:

Immediately after the Battle of Gettysburg, the thought occurred to me that there could be no more fitting and expressive memorial of the heroic valor and signal triumphs of our Army on the 1st, 2d, and 3d days of July 1863, than the Battle-field itself, with its natural and artificial defences preserved and perpetuated in the exact form & condition they presented during the Battles.

Acting at once upon this idea I commenced negotiations and have secured the purchase of the most striking and interesting portions of the Battle ground, embracing among these the heights of Cemetery Hill on the centre, which resisted the fiercest assaults of the enemy, the Granite spur of Round Top on the left, with its massive rocks & wonderful stone defences constructed by the Pennsylvania Reserves, and the timber Breastworks on the right, extending for a mile upon the wooded heights of Wolf Hill, whose trees exhibit the fearful effect of our musketry fire.

In pursuance of the original purpose I now propose to the patriotic citizens of Pennsylvania to unite with me in the tenure of the sacred grounds of this Battle field.

In order that all may participate who will, at its actual cost, the share to be held by any one citizen will be limited to ten dollars.

Committees will be named in the cities and large towns throughout the State, to whom reference and application can be made.⁷

It was for the purpose of preserving the defences on eastern Cemetery Hill that McConaughy purchased the tract first proposed by Wills for the soldiers' cemetery. He was determined to have soldiers buried in grounds controlled by the association "at a stipulated

5. Bartlett, *Soldiers' National Cemetery at Gettysburg*, pp. 2-3.

6. McConaughy had written a letter to Governor Curtin on July 25, explaining his plans, proposals, and activities for a soldiers' cemetery at Gettysburg.

7. McConaughy to Ingersoll & others, August 19, 1863, in David McConaughy Correspondence, Vertical Files, Gettysburg Battlefield Memorial Association, GNMP Library.

price," thereby helping to relieve the faltering finances of his cemetery. Failing in this effort, he sought to connect the two cemeteries, "so that they should both be in one enclosure, and all under the control, supervision, and management of the local cemetery association." Governor Curtin and other state representatives, however, advocated a separate and distinct soldiers' cemetery with control and management retained by the interested states themselves. Hence the Evergreen Cemetery Association reluctantly agreed on August 14 to sell Wills twelve acres of the Cemetery Hill lands adjoining the civilian cemetery for the exclusive use of the soldiers' cemetery for \$2,475.87. This sum was equal to the purchase price of the lands paid earlier by McConaughy. One stipulation, however, was made by the cemetery association as part of the sale – that "an open iron railing enclosure of ordinary height be made and maintained by the State, or states interested, upon the division lines between said lands, and the grounds of Ever-Green Cemetery." This enclosure was the maximum development wanted by the association. A day or two later Wills bought an additional five acres adjoining the larger tract of twelve acres which lay between Evergreen and the five-acre tract of Miller's apple orchard.⁸ Later, on March 21, 1864, Wills reported to the Select Committee on the Soldiers' National Cemetery of the Pennsylvania House of Representatives:

His Excellency, Gov. Curtin, having authorized me to buy grounds, and invite the other States interested to unite in the removal of the dead, and improving the grounds, I immediately endeavored to purchase land on Cemetery Hill, and, after much difficulty, succeeded in buying five different lots lying on Cemetery Hill, on the west side of the Baltimore turnpike, adjoining the local cemetery on the north and west. It is the ground on which the centre of our line of battle rested July 2d and 3d, and one of the most prominent and important positions on the whole battle field. The lots were purchased for different prices per acre, according to their location, but all at a very reasonable market price. Two lots were bought at the rate of \$225 per acre; one for \$200 per acre; one for \$150 per acre, and one for \$135 per acre. The whole embraces about seventeen acres.⁹

Despite the initial problems with McConaughy by August 17, only six weeks after the battle, Wills was able to inform Governor Curtin of the considerable progress that had been made as a result of his efforts. He observed:

8. For more data on the Wills-McConaughy negotiations see McConaughy to Curtin, July 25, 29, August 5, 14, 1863; Wills to Curtin, August 3, 7, 10, 11, 1863; Interested Parties to Curtin, August 12, 1863; Buehler & Fahnestock to Curtin, August 14, 1863; and Motions, Evergreen Cemetery Association, July 13, August 14, 1863, David Wills Correspondence, and Notes of Minutes of the Proceedings of the Evergreen Cemetery Association, taken by Kathleen Georg, May 16, 1978, in Vertical Files, Evergreen (Citizen's) Cemetery, GNMP Library. Also see Georg, "This Grand National Enterprise," pp. 15-35.

9. Kathleen R. Georg, "Gettysburg – A Happy and Patriotic Conception," [1979], p. 2, and *Report of the Select Committee Relative to the Soldiers' National Cemetery, Together With the Accompanying Documents As Reported to the House of Representatives of the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania, March 31, 1864* (Harrisburg, 1864), pp. 1, 6-7.

By virtue of the authority reposed in me by your Excellency, I have invited the co-operation of the several loyal States having soldier-dead on the battle field around this place, in the noble project of removing their remains from their present exposed and imperfectly buried condition, on the fields for miles around, to a cemetery.

The Chief Executives of fifteen out of the seventeen States have already responded, in most instances, pledging their States to unite in the movement; in a few instances, highly approving of the project, and stipulating to urge upon the Legislatures to make appropriations to defray their proportionate share of expense.

I have also, at your request, selected and purchased the grounds for this Cemetery, the land to be paid for by, and the title to be made to, the State of Pennsylvania, and to be held in perpetuity, devoted to the object for which it was purchased.

The grounds embrace about seventeen acres on Cemetery Hill, fronting on the Baltimore turnpike, and extending to the Taneytown road. It is the ground which formed the apex of our triangular line of battle, and the key to our line of defences. It embraces the highest point on Cemetery Hill, and overlooks the whole battle field. It is the spot which should be specially consecrated to this sacred purpose. It was here that such immense quantities of our artillery were massed, and during Thursday and Friday of the battle, from this most important point on the field, dealt out death and destruction to the Rebel army in every direction of their advance.¹⁰

Meanwhile, plans were implemented to purchase and preserve important parts of the battlefield. Although his cemetery concept was thwarted, McConaughy, using personal funds, began initiating purchases of land on which significant parts of the battle had taken place. By August 19 he had purchased McKnight's Hill (now known as Stevens Knoll), Raffensberger's Hill (now known as East Cemetery Hill), the west face of Little Round Top, Culp's Hill, and part of Big Round Top. On that date McConaughy approached some of Gettysburg's leading citizens with the proposal of joining together to form a memorial or monument association. He wrote:

In pursuance of the original purpose, I now propose to the patriotic citizens of Pennsylvania to unite with me in the tenure of the sacred grounds of this battlefield at their actual cost. In order that all may participate who will the amount of a single share will be limited to ten dollars. . . . It is also suggested that an association be formed and an Act of incorporation be procured from our State Legislature, granting powers similar to those of a

10. Wills to Curtin, August 17, 1863, printed in Bartlett, *Soldiers' National Cemetery At Gettysburg*, pp. 344. On August 13, 1863, Wills sent a letter containing his cemetery proposals to the governors of seventeen northern states.

Monument Association. It is not designed to limit the number of shares which any citizen may subscribe, as the more generous the fund the more liberal the bounds of this sacred patrimony which it is proposed to perpetuate.¹¹

Within days McConaughy's proposal was answered by twenty-six Gettysburg citizens, all supportive of his memorial project. Their letter to McConaughy was printed with his inquiring letter in the local newspaper:

We have read with no ordinary interest the delineation of your happy and patriotic conception to commemorate the heroic valor of our national forces in the recent battle of Gettysburg, by the perpetuation of the battle grounds with their natural and artificial defences undisturbed. . . .

We therefore highly approve, and will cheerfully unite in the plan proposed by you, believing it to be the best method of accomplishing the much desired end – the preservation of the standing memorials of the terrific struggles and almost super-human achievements of our troops in the greatest battle recorded in the annals of the world.¹²

A public meeting was held in town on September 5 at which McConaughy advocated the purchase of these and other battlefield landmarks.¹³ At the meeting a preamble and resolutions were adopted, the basic ideas of which would later be formalized and incorporated as part of the charter of the Gettysburg Battlefield Memorial Association. The resolutions read in part:

Resolved, That, in order to secure and perpetuate the Battle-grounds of Gettysburg, with their natural and artificial defences, preserved in their actual form and condition at the time of the battles, we adopt immediate measures to effect the organization of the GETTYSBURG BATTLE-FIELD MEMORIAL ASSOCIATION, and to create a fund by subscription – the shares to consist of ten dollars each.

Resolved, that a Provisional Committee be appointed, to consist of citizens of Pennsylvania, with power to elect from their number an Executive Committee, and to take immediate active measures for the purpose of procuring subscriptions to the fund, and to that end to appoint Local Committees in the several cities and large towns throughout the State.

11. *Adams Sentinel*, August 19, 1863, quoted in Georg, "This Grand National Enterprise," pp. 36-37.

12. *Adams Sentinel*, August 19, 1863, quoted in Georg, "This Grand National Enterprise," p. 38.

13. *Adams Sentinel*, September 18, 1863, quoted in Georg, "Gettysburg – A Happy and Patriotic Conception," pp. 2-3.

Resolved, That so soon as an adequate fund is subscribed, and at a time to be fixed by the Provisional Committee, the several Local Committees shall proceed to call together the subscribers, in their several localities, to elect Trustees, who shall meet at Gettysburg on the call of the Provisional Committee, and proceed to the organization of the Association.

Resolved, That said Trustees shall elect from their number a Board of Management, to have the charge and conduct of the affairs of the Association, subject to the control of the Trustees, until an incorporation and organization under it shall be effected.

Resolved, That the Provisional Committee and the Trustees use prompt and active efforts to procure from the State Legislature an act of incorporation.¹⁴

Shortly thereafter the provisional committee of the fledgling organization issued a public announcement of its purposes and plans. The announcement, which demonstrated the patriotic fervor with which the founders wished to preserve the battlefield, read in part:

The Battle-grounds of Gettysburg – the Battle-field of Pennsylvania – the scenes of the only battles fought on the soil of the free North – the Battle-field of this second war of Independence, because the turning battle of the war, from which dates the downfall of the Rebellion – it appeals with mute eloquence to the great loyal heart of the people. To it all eyes turn as to a sacred spot, which should be guarded with religious care, and zealously preserved from disturbance, neglect, or decay, or the wasting of the elements. Its every portion, its redoubts, its wondrously built stone defences, its timber breast-works, its forest heights, with the trees torn by shells and scarred by countless bullets – its long lines of earthwork defences – Cemetery Hill, McKnight's Hill, Culp's Hill, Granite Spur, Round Top – these have become sacred to all who love the Republic and delight to honor its brave defenders, whether among its living or its dead. Shall we not pay a just and grateful tribute to the heroic valor and signal triumphs of our army on this ever memorable battle-field? Shall we not contribute to the preservation of these standing memorials of the terrible struggles of the noble men who fought and conquered or fell on this field of bloody strife? Shall we not with an honorable emulation and sincere affection strive to perpetuate these witnesses of their brave deeds, and with intense devotion consecrate this battle ground, a field, both in its outlines and its consequences, more grand than Waterloo? Let it be the shrine of loyalty and patriotism, whither in all times will come the sons of America, and the pilgrims of all lands, to view with wonder and veneration the sacred scenes of heroic struggles, in which were involved the life of the nation and the perpetuity of liberty.

14. "The Gettysburg Battle-Field Association – Its Organization," in *Gettysburg Battle-Field Memorial Association* [1863], Vertical Files, Gettysburg Battlefield Memorial Association, GNMP Library.

Who will not feel proud and glad to join in the tenure of these consecrated grounds, and to inscribe his name on the roll of honor which records this work of patriotic homage and devotion, and, in performing this grateful office of loyalty, link his name with such sacred and imperishable associations?¹⁵

Upon the announcement that McConaughy had persuaded Gettysburg citizens to draft articles of incorporation for the battlefield memorial project, the local newspaper editorialized upon the significance of the venture. It observed:

The natural and artificial defences which are thus to be secured from the vandalism of avarice, and saved from destruction, for mere selfish and practical considerations in individual owners, these scenes of conflict, which are thus to be preserved in the precise form and condition they bore in the hours of battle, have become historic and destined to an immortality of fame, among the great places and events of the world's history.

The records of our State and country will preserve the names of those who will perform this pious work of patriotism in the noble effort to perpetuate these consecrated grounds. Who would not have his name among such sacred and imperishable associations?¹⁶

Meanwhile, David Wills had proceeded to make arrangements with William Saunders, an eminent Scottish horticulturist and landscape gardener then employed in Washington, D.C., as superintendent of the experimental gardens of the recently created Department of Agriculture, to lay out the grounds of the soldiers' cemetery.¹⁷ The grounds were laid out in state lots, apportioned in size to the number of marked graves each state had on the battlefield. This number was obtained by having a thorough search made of all the graves and a complete list of the names "accurately taken." On March 21, 1864, Wills reported on this phase of the work to the Pennsylvania House Select Committee:

15. Gettysburg Battle-Field Memorial Association Announcement [1863], Vertical Files, Gettysburg Battlefield Memorial Association, GNMP Library.

16. *Adams Sentinel*, September 15, 1863, quoted in Georg, "This Grand National Enterprise," p. 46.

17. Saunders (1822-1900) was a Scottish landscape gardener who emigrated to the United States in 1848 at the age of 26. He lived in New Haven, Connecticut, and Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, before going to Washington, D.C., in 1862 to work for the Department of Agriculture. After the Civil War, he landscaped the grounds of the Lincoln Tomb in Springfield, Illinois, and was a founder of the National Grange in 1867. Saunders was also known for having worked at John Notman's Laurel Hill Cemetery, an important landscaped cemetery that included semi-circular burial areas. *Dictionary of America Biography*, VIII, 383-84. Also see Saunders' reminiscences of his activities at Gettysburg in "William Saunders Account," Vertical Files, William Saunders Plans for N. Cemetery & General History, GNMP Library.

To preserve their identity, I deemed it very important to have the removals of the dead made as soon as possible. The marks at the graves were but temporary; in many instances, a small rough board, on which the name was faintly written with a lead pencil. This would necessarily be effaced by the action of the weather, and the boards were also liable to be thrown down and lost. The graves which were unmarked were in many instances level with the surface of the earth, and the grass and weeds were growing over them; and in the forests the fall of the leaves in the autumn would cover them so that they might be entirely lost. I, therefore, issued proposals for giving out the contract for disinterring, removing and burying in the National Cemetery, all the Union dead on this battle field. Thirty-four bids were handed in, varying, in amount, from \$1.59 to \$8. I awarded the work in F.U. BIESECKER, the lowest bidder, for \$1.59 per body. . . . I take pleasure in saying that the work under this contract has been done with great care and to my entire satisfaction. This is owing in part to the great care and attention bestowed by MR. SAMUEL WEAVER, whom I employed to superintend the exhuming of the bodies. Through his untiring and faithful efforts, the bodies in many unmarked graves have been identified in various ways. Sometimes by letters, by papers, receipts, certificates, diaries, memorandum books, photographs, marks on the clothing belts, or cartridge boxes, &c., have the names of the soldiers been discovered. Money, and other valuables, have frequently been found, which, where the residence of the friends is known, have been immediately sent to them. . . .

After purchasing the grounds, I made application to the Secretary of War for coffins for the burial of these dead, and he at once approved of the application, and directed the Quartermaster General to furnish the number required [at \$2.56 each] for the purpose.¹⁸

While the work of laying out the grounds and reintering the bodies was underway Wills made plans for ceremonies to dedicate the soldiers' cemetery. Edward Everett, a notable orator from Boston, Massachusetts, was invited to give the principal speech for the occasion which was to be held on October 23 but was delayed until November 19 at Everett's request. On that date President Abraham Lincoln followed Everett's two-hour oration with what has become known as his "Gettysburg Address" that in a sense not only dedicated the Soldiers' National Cemetery but also the battlefield with these memorable words:

Now we are engaged in a great civil war, testing whether that nation, or any nation so conceived and so dedicated, can long endure. We are met on a great battlefield of that war. We have come to dedicate a portion of that field as a

18. *Report of the Select Committee Relative to the Soldiers' National Cemetery . . . March 31, 1864*, pp. 7-8, and Bartlett, *Soldiers' National Cemetery at Gettysburg*, p. 5. See Appendix D for "Remarks On the Design for the Soldiers' National Cemetery, Gettysburg, Pa." by William Saunders and "Map of the Grounds and Design for the Improvement of the Soldiers' National Cemetery, Gettysburg, Pa., 1863 by William Saunders, Landscape Gardener, Germantown, Pa." Saunders elaborated on his theories of landscape gardening in an anonymous article in the *Report of the Commissioner of Agriculture for the Year 1869* (Washington, 1870), pp. 159-83.

final resting place for those who here gave their lives that that nation might live. It is altogether fitting and proper that we should do this.¹⁹

The commissioners of twelve states having lots in the national cemetery held their first meeting at Harrisburg, Pennsylvania, on December 17. The five other states having lots in the cemetery signified their assent in advance to any reasonable actions taken at the meeting. The representatives, under the chairmanship of Wills, formally approved the Saunders plan for laying out the grounds of the cemetery and adopted resolutions for holding the land purchased for the cemetery, completing its layout, and managing its affairs. The resolutions read in part:

First. That the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania shall hold the title to the land which she has purchased at Gettysburg for the Soldiers' National Cemetery, in trust for States having soldiers buried in said cemetery, in perpetuity, for the purpose to which it is now applied.

Second. That the Legislature of the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania be requested to create a corporation to be managed by trustees, one to be appointed by each of the Governors of the States of Maine, New Hampshire, Vermont, Massachusetts, Rhode Island, Connecticut, New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Maryland, Delaware, West Virginia, Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Michigan, Wisconsin, Minnesota, and of such other States as may hereafter desire to be represented in this corporation. . . .

Fourth. That the several States be asked to appropriate a sum of money, to be determined by a division of the estimated expenses according to representation in Congress, to be expended in defraying the cost of removing and re-interring the dead, and finishing the cemetery, under directions of the cemetery corporation.

Fifth. When the cemetery shall have been finished, the grounds are to be kept in order, the house and enclosure in repair, out of a fund created by annual appropriations made by the States which may be represented in the cemetery corporation, in proportion to their representation in Congress.²⁰

19. Bartlett, *Soldiers' National Cemetery At Gettysburg*, pp. 21-60. For more data on the Gettysburg Address and its historical significance see Allan Nevins, ed., *Lincoln and the Gettysburg Address* (Urbana, 1964), and Frederick Tilberg, "The Location of the Platform From Which Lincoln Delivered the Gettysburg Address," *Pennsylvania History*, XL (April, 1973), 178-91, and "Circumstances Surrounding the Dedication of the Soldiers' National Cemetery and of the Delivery by Abraham Lincoln of His Gettysburg Address, November 19, 1863," September 27, 1957, Park Archives, History Division, Washington Office, National Park Service, Washington, D.C. Hereinafter, these latter records will be referred to as WASO Park Archives.

20. *Report of the Select Committee Relative to the Soldiers' National Cemetery . . . March 31, 1864*, pp. 13-14.

The commissioners appointed a committee to procure designs for a monument to be erected in the cemetery. As a result of these efforts, Soldiers' National Cemetery would be incorporated under the laws of Pennsylvania on March 25, 1864.²¹

21. Bartlett, *Soldiers' National Cemetery At Gettysburg*, pp. 6-7.

CHAPTER II: OPERATION AND DEVELOPMENT OF SOLDIERS' NATIONAL CEMETERY UNDER THE COMMONWEALTH OF PENNSYLVANIA: 1864-1872

In response to the resolutions of the commissioners' meeting of December 17 Governor Curtin on March 25, 1864, signed into law "An Act to Incorporate the Soldiers' National Cemetery."¹ The following week, on March 31, the Pennsylvania House Select Committee on the Soldiers' National Cemetery issued a report describing the layout of the cemetery:

The design contemplates the erection of a monument to the memory of the dead; and the situation which seems to meet with the greatest favor is in the centre of the semi-circle of graves. It has been suggested, that each State having dead here should contribute a slab or stone tablet, to be placed in the monument, with the names engraved upon it of those whose graves were not identified, and who consequently are interred in the lots set apart for the unknown.

The grounds are laid off in lots for each State, proportioned in size to the number of marked graves on the Gettysburg battle field. There is also a lot set apart for the burial of the remains of those who belonged to the regular service. The graves of about one-third of the dead were unmarked; but these bodies are deposited in prominent and honorable positions at each end of the semi-circular arrangement of the lots. The grounds naturally have a gradual slope in every direction from the centre of the semi-circle to the circumference. Each lot is laid off in sections, with a space of four feet for a walk between each section. The outer section is lettered A, and so on in alphabetical order. As the observer stands in the centre of the semi-circle, facing the circumference, the burials are commenced at the right hand of the section in each lot, and the graves are numbered from one up numerically. A register is made of the number, name, regiment and company of the occupant of each grave. Two feet space is allotted to each, and they are laid with the heads towards the centre of the semi-circle. At the head of the graves there is a stone wall, built up from the bottom as a foundation for the headstones, which are to be placed along the whole length of each section, and on which, opposite each grave, will be engraved the name, regiment and company of the deceased. These headstones will be all alike in size, the design being wholly adapted to a symmetrical order, and one which combines simplicity and durability. No other marks will be permitted to be erected. There will be about twenty-nine hundred burials in the cemetery. . . .²

1. A copy of the act may be seen in Appendix E.

2. *Report of the Select Committee Relative to the Soldiers' National Cemetery . . . March 31, 1864*, pp. 63-65.

Although the work of exhuming and burying was completed under contract on March 18, 1864, bodies were found from time to time in the fields during the spring and summer. The total number exhumed and buried under the contract was 3,354. By November an additional 37 bodies were reinterred. In addition, the municipal authorities of Boston buried 158 Massachusetts dead under a separate contract, thus making the total number of interments in the cemetery 3,549 as of December 1864. The number of interments in each lot was:

Maine	104	Maryland	22
New Hampshire	49	West Virginia	11
Vermont	61	Ohio	131
Massachusetts	158	Indiana	80
Rhode Island	12	Illinois	6
Connecticut	22	Michigan	167
New York	866	Wisconsin	72
New Jersey	78	Minnesota	52
Pennsylvania	526	U.S. Regulars	188
Delaware	15	Unknown	979 ³

As there were no appropriations made by the states until February (the Michigan legislature passed the first such appropriation on February 3 for \$3,500), and no organized cemetery board until April 1864 most of the money required to pay for the work of burying the dead was borrowed. The Commonwealth of Pennsylvania paid \$2,192.61 on account of the first expenses under the contract with Biesecker out of funds "set apart for the care of sick and wounded soldiers, and the decent burial of the dead." Thereafter, the commonwealth declined to pay more without an appropriation. By November 1864 appropriations and subscriptions approved by the state legislatures amounted to \$96,099.36, the principal sums being those by New York (\$30,000) and Pennsylvania (\$20,000).⁴

On April 6 the board of commissioners met and organized in accordance with the provisions of the act incorporating Soldiers' National Cemetery. A board of trustees as well as executive and auditing committees were selected. The officers chosen for the board of trustees were: David Wills, Gettysburg, president; John R. Bartlett, Providence, Rhode Island, secretary; and Samuel R. Russell, Gettysburg, treasurer. The members of the executive committee were John R. Latimer of Delaware, Benjamin Deford of Maryland, and Levi Scobey

3. *First Annual Report of the Commissioners Composing the Board of Managers of the Soldiers' National Cemetery, at Gettysburg, Penna., Made Dec 7th, 1864, for the fiscal year ending Nov. 30th, 1864* (Philadelphia, 1864), pp. 6-7.

4. *Ibid.*, p. 7.

of New Jersey. The auditing committee consisted of Henry Edwards of Massachusetts, Colonel Gordon Lofland of Ohio, and John R. Bartlett of Rhode Island.⁵

On June 10 the board of commissioners met and passed three resolutions which were to serve as instructions for the executive committee. The three resolutions, which had the effect of substantially increasing the cost of the cemetery developments over the earlier estimate, were:

Resolved, That the Executive Committee be instructed to place the graves in order, lay out the grounds, and erect porter's lodge, fence, wall, gateway, headstones, &c., at such time as they may deem expedient, at an expense not exceeding sixty-four thousand dollars (\$64,000). . . .

Further resolved, That we recommend that a sum not exceeding forty thousand dollars be expended in erecting a suitable monument, and request the loyal States, having dead buried in the National Cemetery, to make the additional appropriations necessary for its construction, and that the Executive Committee be, and it is hereby instructed to proceed with the erection of the monument, so soon as a sufficient amount shall have been appropriated and a design adopted.

Resolved, That the Executive Committee be directed to proceed with the enclosure of the Cemetery grounds and the improvement of the same, upon such plans, and at such times as in their judgment shall seem most expedient.

The executive committee met at the Continental Hotel in Philadelphia on July 29 to act under the authority of these resolutions. The superintendent (Wills was both president of the board of trustees and superintendent of the cemetery) was directed "to construct the wall to the extreme extent and around the grounds according to the original plan." The wall was "to be similar to the wall already built, to extend from the north-west corner to and along the Baltimore turnpike, north-west, west and south sides, to the present south-east corner." The superintendent was "to have quarried, dressed, and laid by day's work the coping proposed for the whole of the exterior wall." In place of the proposed granite block headstones plans for white marble slabs were adopted. According to the *Adams Sentinel and General Advertiser* of August 9 the committee

adopted headstones precisely alike throughout the entire area of lots. They will form a continuous line of marble blocks rising ten inches above the ground, and showing a face or width of ten inches on the upper surface, and all well jointed and clamped together. The names, company and regiment will be carved opposite each interment, thus securing a simple and expressive arrangement, combined with great permanence and durability.

5. Bartlett, *Soldiers' National Cemetery at Gettysburg*, pp. 10-11

The superintendent was authorized to select a plan and proceed with construction of a lodge to serve as a residence for the keeper of the cemetery at a cost not to exceed \$4,000.⁶

The executive committee again met in Philadelphia on September 7. Bids for furnishing marble headstones were reviewed, but because the cost of the work far exceeded the original estimates it was "deemed inexpedient to contract for the headstones." Two proposals from Wood & Perot, Iron Workers, for the gateway and front fence of the cemetery and the division fence between Soldiers' National Cemetery and Evergreen Cemetery were approved. No actions were taken relative to the erection of the monument in the cemetery because of insufficient funding.⁷

In the first annual report of the board of commissioners in December 1864 Wills reported on the progress of work in the cemetery. He observed:

The mason work of the stone wall of 2500 feet in length, enclosing the north, west, and south sides of the Cemetery, is completed. The quarrying and hauling of the stone, digging foundation and building the wall, including lime and sand, cost \$3,896. This wall is built in a very substantial manner, with a foundation 2 feet deep and 2 feet thick, and the wall, on an average, 4 feet 4 inches high, battered on the outside to a width of 19 inches at the top. It is surmounted by a dressed granite coping, 8 inches thick, 23 inches wide, and well laid and jointed and cemented, and clamped together at the joints with iron clamps. About 1600 feet of this coping is already on the wall, and the balance will be put on during the winter or early in the spring. . . .

The division fence between the two Cemeteries is already completed. It is of wrought iron rails screwed together and passing through cast iron posts set firmly in the ground. It is 1726 feet long and cost in Philadelphia, \$2.25 per lineal foot. The front fence and gateway is contracted for and in progress of construction, and will be put up early in the spring by the contractors, Messrs. Wood & Perot. The fence will be an ornamental cast iron fence, about 5 feet 4 inches high, and will cost \$750 per lineal foot. There will be about 280 feet, amounting to \$2,100. The cost of the entrance gates and pedestals will be \$1,800.

The lodge is a small, neat building, constructed of stone. It is nearly completed, and will cost when done, about \$1,650.

6. *Adams Sentinel and General Advertiser*, August 7, 1864, quoted in Research Notes extracted by Kathleen R. Georg, Vertical Files, National Cemetery, GNMP Library. The wall was never extended along the Baltimore turnpike.

7. *First Annual Report of the Commissioners Composing the Board of Managers of the Soldiers' National Cemetery* . . . Dec. 7th, 1864 . . . pp. 29-32.

There has been a large amount of work done in dressing up the graves and finishing them ready for sodding early in the spring. The main avenue has also been partly dug out ready for macadamizing. About 800 perch of stone have been hauled for the foundation of the monument, and the amount expended in all this work was \$91,207. . . .⁸

By late 1864 the board of commissioners had obtained a number of designs for the cemetery monument "from the best artists in the country." The designs were solicited through newspaper advertisements in New York, Philadelphia, Boston, and Cincinnati. The board adopted the design presented by J.G. Batterson of Hartford, Connecticut. The plan provided for a shaft of granite with figures of white marble on the four buttresses and a figure of the same material on the summit of the monument.⁹

Because funds for the monument in Soldiers' National Cemetery were not forthcoming from the states the board of commissioners of Soldiers' National Cemetery determined to request an appropriation from Congress. On December 12, 1864, formal letters were submitted to both the House and the Senate requesting an appropriation of \$50,000. The letters read in part:

The States whose soldiers fell in those battles, and whose bodies are now buried within the cemetery, have contributed about sixty-five thousand dollars toward the objects in view, but owing to the great advance in labor, and the cost of materials, the association falls short of means sufficient to complete the proposed monument on the scale which its importance demands.¹⁰

The Senate Committee on Military Affairs and the Militia to which the memorial was referred reported its recommendations on the request on March 2, 1865. The committee urged that the request be rejected for reasons of "economy and the public welfare," while at the same time acknowledging that the project merited "the earnest and patriotic consideration of the loyal people of the country":

The erection of a suitable monument at Gettysburg, to perpetuate a grateful remembrance of the brave men who gave up their lives on that battle-field in the cause of republican constitutional liberty, and to stand as a historic commemoration of one of the most sanguinary, decisive, and brilliant

8. Ibid., pp. 9-10.

9. Bartlett, *Soldiers' National Cemetery at Gettysburg*, p. 11.

10. U.S. Congress, Senate, Committee on Military Affairs and the Militia, *Memorial of the President and Secretary of the Board of Commissioners of the Soldiers' National Cemetery Association*, 38th Cong., 2d Sess., 1864, S. Misc. Doc. 7, pp. 1-2.

struggles that have crowned the valor of the federal arms in the present war, is alike a duty and a privilege – a duty appealing to the highest instincts of the patriot, and a privilege which every loyal American should feel proud to share.¹¹

Meanwhile the work of developing the cemetery was proceeding. On March 6, 1865, Wills was able to report:

The enclosure around the Cemetery grounds is nearly completed. It consists of a well built stone wall, surmounted with heavy dressed capping stone. This wall extends along the south, west and north sides of the grounds. The division fence between the SOLDIERS' NATIONAL CEMETERY and the local cemetery, is of iron, and is already put up complete. The front fence and gate way is of ornamental iron work, and ready to put up, as soon as the weather will admit of it. The gate lodge is also built.

The grounds have been graded and prepared for the planting of the trees, in part, this spring. They cannot all be planted, until the work of constructing the monument and headstones is finished. A contract has been entered into for putting up the headstones, and the work has been commenced. It is a large contract, costing over \$20,000.00, and will take a year to complete. When finished, it will make a most permanent and durable piece of work.¹²

By November 1865 work at the cemetery had nearly been completed. According to the *Adams Sentinel* of November 7, 1865, a heavy force of workmen were

still employed at the National Cemetery . . . [The] foundation of the National Monument is completed, and is of such a substantial nature that it seems it will stand forever. . . .

The various Avenues are all laid out, and the work of macademization on some parts of them is completed. The trees and shrubbery are being planted as fast as the progress of the work will admit. The headstones are all laid in those sections where bodies are buried. The balance of the filling up where the bodies are deposited, will be done in a short time to carry out the full design. The grounds are beginning to present a most handsome appearance, and in the course of a few years will be unsurpassed in beauty by any other spot in the world. This great work has given employment to a great number of laborers, among whom we are pleased to notice a large number of

11. U.S. Congress, Senate, Committee on Military Affairs and the Militia, *In the Senate of the United States: Report*, 38th Cong., 2d Sess., 1865, S. Rept. 141, p. 1.

12. *Revised Report Made to the Legislature of Pennsylvania, Relative to the Soldiers' National Cemetery, at Gettysburg*. . . (Harrisburg, 1867), pp. 10-11. The headstones for the known dead, originally to be of marble, ended up as more reasonable granite.

returned soldiers. Probably some fought upon the very ground which they are now helping to beautify.¹³

Daniel K. Synder was appointed superintendent of grounds for the cemetery in May 1865 and acted in that capacity until November. In November 1865 Sergeant John McAllister was appointed temporary superintendent of the Gettysburg National Cemetery. He was to occupy the "Keeper's House at the Gateway" and devote full time to attending the grounds. McAllister would remain as superintendent until 1872 when the cemetery at Gettysburg was transferred from state to federal control, thus placing it under federal laws requiring that national cemetery superintendents be disabled veterans.¹⁴

An anonymous article appearing in *Hours at Home* in December 1865 described the symbolism, significance, and development of Soldiers' National Cemetery. The article read in part:

Right here, upon the edge of this hill adjoining the village cemetery where General Howard had his quarters is the plot now sacred as the Soldiers' National Cemetery. It is inclosed with a neat, substantial railing, the gateway being inscribed with the names of the States represented within the ground, and surmounted by the American eagle in bronze. The crown of the hill is the site of the projected monument; and around this, in semicircular slopes, lie the honored dead, each man separately confined, and the men of each State together, in distinct sections. The divisions between the States are marked by alleys leading from the monument to the outer circle; the confined rows are divided by continuous granite blocks about six inches in height, upon which the names and regiment of each soldier, so far as ascertained, is inscribed, as for his proper headstone. But many a grave bears the simple, touching mark: "Unknown."

None but loyal soldiers of the Union lie here; and would that all such who fell upon this high field of the nation's honor might have been gathered into this most honorable sepulchre! About a thousand, however, had been removed by friends to distant burial places before the plan of a National Cemetery was suggested. But none who should look upon this peaceful and well-ordered cemetery would now desire to remove a soldier-friend from its hallowed associations. . . . This intermingling of States in the ashes of their dead, without regard to sectional divisions, is itself a symbol and a prophecy of the reality and the perpetuity of that Union which was here redeemed and

13. *Adams Sentinel*, November 7, 1865, quoted in Research Notes extracted by Kathleen R. Georg, Vertical Files, National Cemetery, GNMP Library. The cornerstone for the monument was laid on July 4, 1865.

14. *Gettysburg Compiler*, November 20, 1865, quoted in Research Notes extracted by Kathleen R. Georg, Vertical Files, National Cemetery, GNMP Library. McAllister continued on at the cemetery as a laborer until March 1874.

sealed by so much precious blood. No fratricidal hand can hereafter efface from our history the memory of Gettysburgh. . . .¹⁵

On April 25, 1866, the executive committee of the board of commissioners, meeting in New York City, determined to accept the proposal of J.G. Batterson to erect the monument in the cemetery since sufficient appropriations had been passed by the state legislatures. Accordingly, a contract was let to Batterson for the work on May 21 at a cost of \$47,500. The monument was to be completed by July 1868.

During the summer of 1866 various projects were carried out in the cemetery. In December Wills reported:

I had some of the small avenues in the Cemetery grounds macadamized during the summer. . . . I also made a contract for gravelling the avenues, and had five hundred and sixty-two perches of gravel hauled from Marsh Creek, at \$1.25 per perch, and forty-nine perches hauled from Rock creek, at \$1.00 per perch, making a total of \$751.50. I had all the letters on the head-stones painted with a durable composition paint, at the rate of \$1.00 per one hundred letters. The number of letters painted was forty-six thousand one hundred and two, amounting to \$461.02.

I had also a large amount of shrubbery and trees planted, but there still remains a number yet to be procured and planted. I had the graves all levelled off and sown with lawn grass seed and all the grounds, from time to time during the year, cleaned up and kept in order.

At its annual meeting in Philadelphia on December 12, 1866, the board of managers (formerly known as the board of commissioners) of Soldiers' National Cemetery took a number of actions that concerned the development of the cemetery. A design change submitted by Batterson for the marble statue which was to surmount the monument was approved. The proposed figure would be safer to cut and raise and would be less liable to injury. Also approved was a proposal by Batterson "to sculpture certain objects upon the sides of the buttresses upon which the statues" were to be placed, provided the expense did not exceed \$1,500. Wills was authorized "to purchase two rollers for the purpose of rolling the lawns and avenues in the Cemetery" and "machines for clipping the grass and keeping it in uniform length." He was also authorized to place advertisements in the newspapers of New York, Philadelphia, and Baltimore "for a Landscape Gardener or person suitable to

15. "The National Cemetery at Gettysburgh," *Hours At Home*, II (December, 5), 183-84. In 1867 the first monument/memorial in both the national cemetery and battlefield was the 1st Minnesota Memorial. It antedated the Soldiers' National Monument by two years. The marble flower urn had quotations from the dedicatory addresses of both Lincoln and Everett inscribed on its base. Two known Confederate are buried in the national cemetery, and Union dead are interred in Evergreen Cemetery.

superintend and take care of the National Cemetery grounds at Gettysburg." The executive committee was authorized

should they deem it expedient, to alter and reconstruct the Lodge in the Cemetery, in order that it may more fully conform to good taste, and at the same time, meet the requirements of a keeper's lodge, of a place for the reception of visitors, and for keeping and preserving the records of the Association.¹⁶

By 1868 the tradition of holding special ceremonies in Gettysburg National Cemetery on Memorial Day had become established. The ceremonies were organized by a committee consisting of Grand Army of the Republic (GAR) members. During the next decade the featured speakers at the ceremonies were prominent local clergymen, professors, and former military leaders, but by the late 1870s the orators being selected for the occasion were national political or military leaders. These would later include four presidents – Theodore Roosevelt (1904), Calvin Coolidge (1928), Herbert Hoover (1930), and Franklin D. Roosevelt (1934) – and two vice presidents – Lyndon B. Johnson (1963) and Hubert H. Humphrey (1968).¹⁷

During the 1860s events had unfolded in the national political arena that would effect the future administration of the cemetery. Several legislative acts passed by Congress in the 1860s would ultimately lead to transfer of the cemetery from commonwealth to federal jurisdiction. Section 18 of the Act of Congress approved before the Battle of Gettysburg on July 17, 1862, provided

That the President of the United States shall have power, whenever in his opinion it shall be expedient to purchase cemetery grounds, and cause them to be securely inclosed, to be used as a national cemetery for the soldiers who shall die in the service of the country.

A congressional joint resolution, approved on April 13, 1866, further provided

That the Secretary of War be, and he is hereby, authorized and required to take immediate measures to preserve from desecration the graves of the

16. *Proceedings and Third Annual Report of the Commissioners Composing the Board of Managers of the Soldiers' National Cemetery, For the Fiscal Year Ending November 30th, 1866 (Gettysburg, 1866)*, pp. 5-6, 9-10, 19-20.

17. As the GAR leaders passed away the work of organizing the ceremonies was taken up by the Sons of Union Veterans. By the 1930s and 1940s friction between this latter organization and such veterans organizations as the American Legion, United Spanish War Veterans, and Veterans of Foreign Wars led to the nominal inclusion of members of these groups on the organizing committee. Coleman to Regional Director, Region One, June 21, 1946; McConaghie to the Director, September 13, 1940; and Harrison to Smith, February 3, 1978, Vertical Files, Memorial Day Exercises, GNMP Library. A significant feature of these ceremonies has been the placement of flowers on the graves by school children.

soldiers of the United States who fell in battle or died of disease in the field and in hospitals during the War of the Rebellion; to secure suitable burial places in which they may be properly interred, and to have the grounds inclosed, so that the resting places of the honored dead may be kept sacred forever.¹⁸

Following passage of these acts Congress passed "An Act to Establish and to Protect National Cemeteries" (14 Stat. 399) on February 22, 1867. This legislation provided "a legal basis" for the national cemetery system then in "process of development," "committed Congress to a constructive fiscal policy" in funding the development, and vested authority in the Secretary of War for acquiring and developing extensive lands for cemeterial purposes. Among its provisions the act directed the Secretary of War to have every national cemetery enclosed "with a good and substantial stone or iron fence"; to cause each grave to be marked with a small headstone or block; to direct the appointment of reliable veterans as cemetery superintendents and the erection of adequate quarters; to provide for annual inspections of the conditions and required improvements at all cemeteries by a field-grade officer; and to submit the reports of inspection to Congress at the commencement of each session "with an estimate of the appropriation for that purpose." It was further enacted that the secretary should acquire title in fee simple to all cemeterial lands, either by mutual agreement with owners, or by processes of court action specified in the act.¹⁹

As the War Department took steps to further develop a national cemeterial system in pursuance of the act the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania began the process that would ultimately lead to transfer of Soldiers' National Cemetery to the federal government. Administration and operation of the cemetery by commissioners from so many states had become burdensome, cumbersome, and expensive. Thus, on April 14, 1868, the general assembly passed an act authorizing the "Commissioners having charge and care of the Soldiers' National Cemetery at Gettysburg" to "transfer all the right, title, interest and care of the said Soldiers' National Cemetery, upon the completion of the same, to the Government of the United States." When transferred the commonwealth would cede and relinquish "to the United States all its title to the grounds and property of the said Cemetery vested in it in trust for the States which participated in the establishment of the said national Cemetery, the

18. U.S. War Department, *National Cemetery Regulations* (Washington, 1931), pp. 1-2.

19. Edward Steere, *Shrines of the Honored Dead: A Study of the National Cemetery System* (Washington, 1954), p. 16, and Edwin C. Bearss, "Brief Legislative and Administrative History of National Cemeteries Managed by the National Park Service," January, 1984, p. 6. Both documents, which provide a detailed background of the historical evaluation of the national cemetery system, may be found in the vertical files of Gettysburg National Military Park.

cession being made upon condition that the United States Government take upon itself the management and care of said Cemetery and make provision for its maintenance."²⁰

In response to the act Congress passed, on July 14, 1870, "A Resolution Authorizing the Secretary of War to take charge of the Gettysburg and Antietam National Cemeteries" (16 Stat. 390). The resolution stated:

That the Secretary of War be, and is hereby, directed to accept and take charge of the soldiers' national cemetery at Gettysburg, Pennsylvania, and the Antietam national cemetery at Sharpsburg, Maryland, whenever the commissioners and trustees having charge of said cemeteries are ready to transfer their care to the general government. That when the afore-mentioned cemeteries are placed under the control of the Secretary of War, that they be taken care of and maintained in accordance with the provisions of the act of Congress entitled "An Act to establish and protect national cemeteries," approved February twenty-two, eighteen hundred and sixty-seven.

By June 1871 the Soldiers' National Cemetery at Gettysburg was largely completed. The Soldiers' National Monument had been dedicated on July 1, 1869, with ceremonies featuring addresses by Major General George G. Meade, and Oliver P. Morton, a former governor of Indiana and by 1869 a U.S. Senator. On August 31, 1872, a statue of Major General John F. Reynolds, who had been killed during the battle, was erected in the cemetery. Conceived on January 5, 1864, the statue was cast from bronze cannon tubes and was the first bronze monument on the battlefield, including the cemetery.

Thus, with its work largely finished, the board of managers of the cemetery passed the following resolutions on June 22, 1871:

Resolved, That the Commissioners to the said Soldiers' National Cemetery, at Gettysburg, assent and agree to the transfer of the said Cemetery to the Government of the United States according to the provisions of the said Act of the General Assembly of Pennsylvania, and are ready to make the transfer accordingly.

Resolved, That David Wills, Esq., the President of this Board, be, and he hereby is, authorized and empowered, as the Agent of the Board and of the Cemetery, to make transfer of the Cemetery to the proper officer or party authorized to receive the same on the part of the United States, and to do all

20. Bartlett, *Soldiers' National Cemetery At Gettysburg*, pp. 17-18.

other acts and things necessary and proper to make and complete the said transfer.²¹

Major Oscar A. Mack, inspector of the national cemeteries, visited the Soldiers' National Cemetery at Gettysburg on August 23, 1871, in accordance with the requirements of the Act of February 22, 1867. He noted that the cemetery contained 1,931 white known interments and 1,633 white unknown burials. A copy of his complete inspection report may be seen in Appendix F.²²

During late 1871 David Wills took steps to implement the resolutions passed by the board of managers on June 22. As the result of considerable correspondence and several conferences with the Secretary of War, the federal government took full possession of the cemetery on May 1, 1872. All told, some \$140,000 had been spent on the cemetery and its development between 1864 and 1872. The following contributions were made by the states during that period:

Maine	\$4,205.30	Maryland,	\$4,205.30
New Hampshire	2,523.18	West Virginia	2,523.18
Vermont	2,523.18	Ohio	15,980.14
Massachusetts	8,410.60	Indiana	9,251.66
Rhode Island	1,682.12	Illinois	11,774.84
Connecticut	3,364.24	Michigan	5,046.36
New York	26,072.86	Wisconsin	5,046.36
New Jersey	4,205.30	Minnesota	1,682.12
Pennsylvania	20,185.44		
Delaware	841.06	Total amount	\$129,523.24 ²³

21. "Transfer of the Soldiers' National Cemetery to the United States," June 22, 1871 (typed transcript in Vertical Files, National Cemetery, GNMP Library). Also see Bartlett, *Soldiers' National Cemetery at Gettysburg*, pp. 17, 19-20, 83-109, and John B. Bachelder, *Gettysburg: What To See, and How To See It* (New York, 1873), pp. 118-20.

22. U.S. Congress, Senate, Committee on Printing, *Letter From the Secretary of War Communicating, In Obedience to Law, the Report of the Inspector of the National Cemeteries for the Years 1870 and 1871*, 42nd Cong., 2d Sess., 1872, Ex. Doc. 79, pp. 15-17.

23. Bartlett, *Soldiers' National Cemetery At Gettysburg*, pp. 11, 17-20. The deed of transfer (a copy of which is on file in the vertical files at Gettysburg National Military Park) may be found in Adams County Deed Book DD, Folios 216-18.

CHAPTER III:
OPERATION AND DEVELOPMENT OF GETTYSBURG NATIONAL CEMETERY
UNDER THE U.S. WAR DEPARTMENT: 1872-1933

During the period 1872-1933 the national cemetery at Gettysburg was administered by the U.S. War Department through the Office of the Quartermaster General. Initial responsibility for the protection, maintenance, and administration of each national cemetery was vested in the cemetery superintendent by the Act of February 22, 1867. In practice, however, the detailed administrative control exercised by the Quartermaster General through his depot quartermasters, as embodied in the Regulations for the Government of National Cemeteries, left little discretion to the cemetery superintendent in his management operations.¹

On February 22, 1867, legislation had been passed requiring that superintendents of national cemeteries be disabled war veterans. Accordingly, John McAllister, who had been first appointed as keeper of the national cemetery at Gettysburg in November 1865, was replaced by Charles Shambaugh in August 1872. For some months thereafter McAllister served as a guard and assistant laborer at the cemetery. Shambaugh served as superintendent until July 1873, when Nicholas G. Wilson, a sergeant with the 138th Pennsylvania Volunteers and a native of Adams County, replaced him, serving until September 30, 1887.² He resigned when the War Department gave him a choice – he could serve as superintendent of the cemetery or as superintendent of grounds for the GBMA and the battlefield, but he could not do both as he had been. He chose the latter. During the remainder of the 1872-1933 period the following men served as superintendents of the cemetery:

W. D. Holtzworth – September 30, 1887 - August 20, 1891
Calvin Hamilton – August 21, 1891 - March 11, 1914
Harry Koch – March 11, 1914 - April 7, 1914
M. M. Jefferys – April 7, 1914 - June 22, 1914
Harry Koch – June 23, 1914 - June 19, 1915
Austin J. Chapman – June 19, 1915 - April 15, 1918
Harry Koch – April 15, 1918 - July 31, 1918
James W. Bodley – August 1, 1918 - August 31, 1930
J. F. McCall – September 1, 1930 - October 31, 1933

1. Bearss, "Legislative and Administrative History of National Cemeteries," p. 7.

2. *Annual Reports of the Secretary of War*, 1882, I, 441; 1890, I, 727.

Hamilton was the last disabled Civil War veteran to serve as superintendent of the cemetery. Chapman and Bodley were Civil War veterans, but they were not disabled.

The first federal legislation that affected Gettysburg National Cemetery during this period was the Act of June 8, 1872, authorizing the Secretary of War to have all graves in the national cemeteries marked with headstones. The act instructed him "to cause each grave to be marked with a small headstone, with the name of the soldier and the name of the State inscribed thereon, when the same are known, in addition to the number required to be inscribed by said section." On March 3, 1873, Congress appropriated \$1,000,000 for the erection of the headstones, the markers "to be made of durable stone and of such design and weight as shall keep them in place when set. The secretary was to "first determine for the various cemeteries the size and model for such headstones, and the standard of quality and color of the stones to be used."³

Since headstones had already been erected in Gettysburg National Cemetery for the known interments, it was determined that such markers were only required for the 979 graves "of unknown interments." To date the "unknown" graves at Gettysburg were identified only by wooden headboards. Specifications for headstones "for the unknown," as approved by the Secretary of War during the summer of 1873, provided for granite or marble blocks six inches square and two and one-half feet in depth.⁴

The first headstones to be erected under the aforementioned legislation in the national cemetery system were placed at Brownsville and Gettysburg in November 1874. By June 1875 some 919 markers were in place at Gettysburg. In September Captain A. F. Rockwell, assistant quartermaster general in charge of national cemeteries, reported:

The contracts for marble headstones, as now modified, require the material for the slabs for the known graves to be of white monumental marble, of fine grain, good texture, and hard; to be 4 inches thick, 10 inches wide, and 3 feet long, except for the cemeteries north of the latitude of Washington, and for the latter 3 feet 6 inches long; all to be 12 inches above ground when set: the bottoms to be flat, and the stones of uniform thickness throughout; the top to be slightly curved (convex,) and all that part above ground to be polished neatly in the usual manner of finishing marble headstones; the edges to be slightly rounded; the number of the grave, the rank, (if other than a private,)

3. Bearss, "Legislative and Administrative History of National Cemeteries," pp. 7-8, and *Annual Report of the Secretary of War*, 1872, I, 281, 287-88, and 1873, I, 198-99. The act of March 3, 1873, also liberalized the burial policies for national cemeteries, extending the right of burial to all honorably discharged veterans of the Civil War. Thereafter, veterans who were not Gettysburg casualties could be buried in the Gettysburg cemetery.

4. *Annual Report of the Secretary of War*, 1873, I, 200-01.

the name of the soldier, and the name of the State from which he came, (if known; if not known, the name of the organization to which he belonged;) to be inscribed on the face, in relief or incised, at the option of the contractor. . . .

The blocks for the unknown graves are required to be of marble, nearly white, fine grain, and good texture; to be 2 feet 6 inches long, and 6 inches square, and when set, to be 4 inches above the ground; the top and 4 inches of the upper end to be neatly dressed, and the rest of the block to be either dressed in a similar manner, or rough-dressed or split, at the option of the contractor, provided that they are full size throughout; the top to be flat or slightly convex; the bottom to be flat and fully 6 inches square; the number of the grave to be inscribed on the top of the block, either in relief or incised. . . .⁵

Meanwhile Gettysburg National Cemetery was inspected by War Department authorities on November 19, 1874. The operation of the cemetery, designated as a class I unit of the national cemetery system with Superintendent Wilson receiving a monthly salary of \$75, was described as follows in the *Report of the Inspector of National Cemeteries for the Year 1874*:

This cemetery is situated on the north end and west side of Cemetery Hill, and is immediately south of the village of Gettysburg. It fronts east on the Baltimore turnpike, along which it extends about 300 feet. This front is covered by a heavy cast-iron fence.

The main entrance is in this front near the north end, and is closed by double iron gates over the carriage-way. These gates are supported by large square iron posts, on whose front panels are inscribed in bronzed letters the names of the States represented in the cemetery. Each post is surmounted by a large bronzed iron eagle, with wings out-stretched. A small gate is on each side of the carriage-way, for visitors on foot. . . .

On the Government side of the fence an arbor-vitae hedge has been planted. It has been much injured by the severe weather during the winters of 1871-'72 and 1872-'73, and it is now quite uneven. [The original Evergreen Cemetery deed restriction for an "open pipe fence" had been ignored from the start in favor of Saunders' "living fence" of hedge. The hedge remained, although frequently replanted, until removed by the NPS in 1934-35.]

This cemetery contains seventeen acres of land, which slopes very gently to the north, northwest, and west, and commands extensive views of the surrounding country, which is very beautiful.

From the main entrance a drive 25 feet wide extends southwest over the highest part of the ground, and near the village cemetery; thence south and

5. *Annual Report of the Secretary of War, 1875, I, 285-87.*

west to near the Taneytown road; then returning north and east, by gentle curves, passes over the lower slopes, back to the main entrance.

These grounds have been very handsomely ornamented with trees and shrubs, selected and grouped by Mr. William Saunders, the eminent landscape gardener in charge of the public gardens in Washington. Most of these trees and shrubs have grown well. Some few are not hardy enough for so open an exposure in the latitude of Gettysburg, noticeably the cedars *deodara*.

Above the upper row of graves, and between it and the upper drive, is quite a large space. This is the highest ground in the cemetery. Here a handsome and costly marble monument has been erected to the memory of the brave men who died on this field in the defense of the Union, and whose deeds have been rendered immortal by the imperishable words of President Lincoln in his dedicatory address at the consecration of this cemetery on the 19th November, 1863.

The base of the monument is surrounded by a circular grass-pat, which is inclosed by a light iron fence. A drive surrounds this circle, and a wide border of turf and shrubbery intervenes between the drive and first row of graves. Three bronze field-guns mounted upon their carriages are placed near this circular drive.

Cast-iron seats of a neat pattern have been placed among the terraces; also terra-cotta vases filled with flowering and other plants at the proper season.

In the village cemetery there are seventy-three graves of Union soldiers, buried by their friends. These graves are generally neglected now. If the friends should request it, the Government would remove these remains to the national cemetery, where they would be properly cared for.

Not far from the main entrance the lower drive intersects the upper. In the angle made here by these two avenues is placed the monument erected by the First Corps to the memory of Maj. Gen. John F. Reynolds. It consists of a granite base and pedestal; the latter about 3 feet square and 8 feet high, surmounted by a bronze statue of the general (life-size,) in uniform and equipped for the field, but dismounted. A bronze field-gun on its carriage is placed near this monument also.

A small flag-staff was placed last year near the upper monument. It was not deemed appropriate in size or position. Another of suitable dimensions has been erected near the main entrance.

The lodge is situated in the northeast corner, right at the main entrance. It is built of stone, has three rooms on ground floor, and three chambers under a mansard roof. A piazza also extends around the four sides of the building. The lodge was tidy and in good order, as were the out-buildings also.

A wooden shed has been erected for sheltering the field-guns and carriages from the weather in the winter. The vases are also stored here during the winter months.

The well caved in some time ago, but it has been properly repaired.

The drives have been regravelled and rolled hard, and are in good order; they are much used.

The lawns have a pretty good sod, and the grass is kept closely and neatly cut; a top-dressing of manure will be needed next fall. Some of the shrubbery requires pruning and cultivating, and a few of the trees require to be replaced by healthier ones.⁶

By 1875 there were 77 national cemeteries in the system, and administrative and operational procedures for their direction had been institutionalized by the Office of the Quartermaster General. Reporting on the operation of the system during fiscal year 1875 Rockwell observed:

Many of these superintendents have now held their positions for several years, and have, therefore, become thoroughly acquainted with their duties, and I have no doubt that to their increased experience in the work committed to their charge, much of the improved condition of the cemeteries may be ascribed. The interest displayed by some of them in the welfare of their respective cemeteries is highly commendable. . . .⁷

The appropriation for all 77 national cemeteries in 1875 was \$150,000. The Gettysburg expenditures for fiscal years 1874-75 were \$2,753.97 and \$994.92, respectively, for repairs, improvements, and employee and office expenses.⁸

Improvements were made to Gettysburg National Cemetery in 1876. Cisterns were dug and four sets of shutters were added to the cemetery lodge, contributing to an increase in disbursements to \$2,337.70.⁹

6. *Report of the Inspector of National Cemeteries for the Year 1874* (Washington, 1875), pp. 10-13. The layout of the graves in the cemetery was also described in the report.

7. *Annual Report of the Secretary of War, 1875*, I, 282-83.

8. *Ibid.*, 1874, I, 216-19, and 1875, I, 288-91.

9. *Ibid.*, 1876, I, 132, 290-91, 294-97.

On April 18, 1877, General Orders No. 37 were issued by the Adjutant General's office setting standards and providing regulations for the superintendents of national cemeteries. The orders stated in part:

Superintendents of national cemeteries being civilians, and now paid by the Quartermaster's Department as other civil employees thereof, the following regulations from the Secretary of War are promulgated for the information and guidance of all concerned:

In view of the responsibility attached to the position of superintendent, and his not being generally under the direct supervision of a superior officer, it is of great importance that none but men of excellent character and fair ability should be appointed.

Applicants must therefore fulfill the following conditions, viz:

1st. They must have served in the Army of the United States, either regular or volunteer, and must have been disabled for active field-service in the line of duty, but the degree of their present disability must not be such as to impair their efficiency in charge of cemeteries.

2d. They must be of steady, sober, and correct habits.

3d. They must have a fair degree of intelligence and education, and must be able to write legibly.

The pay of superintendents is \$60, \$65, \$70, \$75, per month, according to the grade of the cemetery to which they are assigned, with quarters and fuel.¹⁰

After quiet years in 1877 and 1878, during which \$1,055.65 and \$559.10 were expended respectively at Gettysburg National Cemetery, a rostrum, having brick pillars, was constructed in 1879 at a cost of some \$1,600. The rostrum had a heavy wooden trelliage, and vines were planted both within the paving of the raised platform and around the rostrum "to afford shade and to add" to its "appearance."¹¹

Records of the expenditures at Gettysburg National Cemetery during the period 1880-1890 indicate that the annual cost of maintaining and operating the unit ranged between a high of \$2,938.53 in 1880 and a low of \$518.86 in 1886 with an approximate average of some \$1,100 per year. The principal elements of work in the 1880s included wall repairs, planting

10. *Ibid.*, 1877, I, 331.

11. *Ibid.*, 1877, I, 326-29; 1878, I, 292-95; and 1879, I, 366, 368-71. The rostrum was constructed for the use of speakers on Memorial Day.

of trees and shrubs, and construction of brick-lined gutters and culverts, a summer house, well house, well, flower vases, benches, and iron tablets.¹²

During the 1872-94 period the national cemetery superintendents at Gettysburg prepared monthly reports for the War Department. These brief reports described the conditions of the cemetery as well as improvements that were made. One such report by Superintendent Wilson for February 1882 describes conditions in the cemetery:

Lodge – Is a one story stone building with mansard roof. There are three rooms on the ground floor with two chambers above and a Piazza all around. In good condition. . . .

Outhouses – Consist of a one story brick kitchen with a frame weatherboarded tool house, a building for housing commons in the winter season and a well and summer house (of the same kind of material) together with a brick Rostrum. In good condition.

Inclosure – One half of the grounds are inclosed with a stone wall covered with a heavy coping of dressed granite, the remaining half with even fences. In good condition.

Gun Monuments – There are no gun-monuments, the guns (four six pounders) are mounted on gun-carriages. In good condition.

Water Supply – Water is supplied from a well and cistern near the Lodge and a well near the south lot of Unknown graves. The water in the well at the Lodge is unfit for house use, they [sic] others are in good condition. . . .

Headstones – Consist of granite curbing in the different State lots, and marble blocks in the Unknown lots. In good condition.

Interments – Previously reported known 1968, Unknown 1608. One interment this month, the remains of Sergt Samuel C. Giffin late of Company "A" 1st Regiment Penna. Cav. who died on the 11th day of July 1881 at the National Soldiers Home Dayton Ohio, removed to this cemetery by authority received from the Asst. Quartermaster Baltimore Md. Authority also received for cutting name on Headstone. Buried in Sec. G Grave No. 11 Penna. State lot.

Total number of bodies interred in the Cemetery to date . . . 3577. . . .

Trees and Shrubbery – The scotch Pines previously reported are dead they [sic] others are in good condition.

Men and Animals Employed – One man employed this month

12. *Ibid.*, I, 478-81; 1881, I, 457-61; 1882, I, 443-47; 1883, I, 572-75; 1884, I, 688-91; 1885, I, 684-87; 1886, I, 561-65; 1887, I, 570-71; 1888, I, 590-93; and 1889, I, 727-31.

No animals employed.

The flag staff, drives, walks, graves, and drainage were described as being in good condition.¹³

Popular literary works, such as booklets, battlefield guides, and travelogs, began to be published, describing the beauty and attractions of the Gettysburg cemetery and battlefield. One such account was published in 1886 by J. Howard Wert, a former lieutenant of the Pennsylvania Volunteers. In his *A Complete Hand-Book of the Monuments and Indications and Guide to the Positions On the Gettysburg Battlefield*, published in 1886, he confirmed the conditions in the cemetery as described by Superintendent Wilson.¹⁴

A number of improvements were made to Gettysburg National Cemetery in 1890-92. In 1890-91 a new brick one-story outbuilding, which included facilities for a stable, storage, and public toilets, was constructed. During 1892 repairs were made "to the lodge and outbuildings, the inclosing wall repointed where required, and a new flagstaff erected." A new entrance was made from Taneytown Road on the west side of the cemetery and "provided with ornamental wrought-iron drive and walk gates." Work on the New York State Monument, the largest in the cemetery, was also commenced. An inspection of the cemetery by Major J. P. Sanger on May 21, 1892, revealed that the stone and iron "inclosure," headstones, lodge, outhouses, drainage, grounds, water supply, and records were all in good condition. It was noted, however, that the 107-foot flagstaff was "not vertical".¹⁵

The monthly report for July 1892 by Superintendent Calvin Hamilton stated that the total number of interments in the cemetery had increased to 3,592. These included 1,980 known burials, and 1,612 unknown.¹⁶

During the late 1890s four various improvements were carried out at Gettysburg National Cemetery. Among the most significant activities was the initiation of major

13. Report for February 1882 by N. G. Wilson, Superintendent, in National Cemetery Reports, 1877-82, GNMP Library.

14. J. Howard Wert, *A Complete Hand-Book of the Monuments and Indications and Guide to the Positions On the Gettysburg Battle-Field* (Harrisburg, 1886), p. 10.

15. *Annual Reports of the Secretary of War*, 1891, I, 484, 488-91, and 1892, I, 361, 365-69, and IV, 660-65. The new entrance created an entirely new traffic plan in the cemetery, and it became a shortcut to the battlefield.

16. Report for July 1892 by Calvin Hamilton, Superintendent, in National Cemetery Reports, 1882-93, GNMP Library. In 1894 the cemetery was connected to the Gettysburg water system.

alterations to Saunders' landscape design under the guidance of the gardener from Arlington National Cemetery.¹⁷

In his *Gettysburg Then and Now: The Field of American Valor*, John M. Vanderslice, a noted Gettysburg historian, described the cemetery in 1899. He noted:

The cemetery is beautifully located upon the highest ground of Cemetery Ridge. . . .

In 1872 the cemetery was transferred to the care of the National Government since which time it has not only been kept in the manner originally designed, but improvements have been made from time to time, and to-day, with its high and prominent location, its beautiful and artistically arranged trees and shrubbery, its well-kept lawns, it is one of the most attractive cemeteries of the land. In one end of the cemetery is a unique rostrum constructed of stone [brick] pillars, covered with creeping and blooming vines, which is used for the services of Memorial Day and similar occasions.¹⁸

Since 1892 superintendents had complained about the inadequacy of the lodge as it had to serve as both a residence and a public office. Thus, Congress provided funds in fiscal year 1906 for construction of a new superintendent's lodge at the cemetery. The original lodge, according to Quartermaster General C. F. Humphrey, was

very old, and in order to place it in proper condition of repair and serviceableness it would be necessary to expend a sum of money which, in my opinion, it would be much better and more economical to the Government to expend in the construction of a new lodge, thereby getting a comfortable and appropriate building for this most important national cemetery.

While Humphrey requested \$10,000 for the new lodge, Congress appropriated only \$6,000. The old lodge was removed during the spring of 1907, and the new brick and stone lodge was completed by December 1907.¹⁹

17. *Annual Reports of the War Department*, 1895, I, 364; 1897, I, 387; 1899, I (pt. 2), 217; and 1900, I (pt. 2), 347.

18. John M. Vanderslice, *Gettysburg Then and Now: The Field of American Valor* (New York, 1899), pp. 336, 339-40, 359. It should be noted that the rostrum pillars were brick, and by 1899 efforts had begun to modify Saunders' original plan.

19. U.S. Congress, House, Committee on Appropriations, *Superintendent's Lodge, National Cemetery, Gettysburg, Pa.: Letter from the Secretary of the Treasury*. . . . 58th Cong., 2d Sess., 1904, H. Doc. 522, pp. 1-2; 34 Stat. 741, and Hamilton to Quartermaster, U.S. Army, December 19, 1907, Letters Sent, Gettysburg National Cemetery, GNMP Library.

Administrative and maintenance operations as well as the physical layout of the cemetery were described by Superintendent Calvin Hamilton on March 1, 1909, in response to a questionnaire submitted by the War Department. He observed that the "interments (known 2,020; unknown 1,631) except less than one hundred are the remains of soldiers who were killed in battle here, or died of wounds in the hospitals in and about the town." There were "ten interments from the War with Spain, most of whom died at Camp Geo. G. Meade near Harrisburg, Pa." The others were the remains of Civil War soldiers and their wives "who died at various places since the Civil War."

Superintendent Hamilton also described the walks and drives in the cemetery. A main drive "22 ft. wide" coursed "round the grounds." There were "many minor drives and walks" constructed of broken stone and gravel that marred "the beauty of the grounds and their establishment" was "not justified by necessity." Thus, it was apparent that Hamilton wanted to eliminate anything that required maintenance and was not functionally essential.²⁰

The *Annual Reports of the War Department* for 1910 indicate that national cemeteries generally were deteriorating in the face of declining appropriations. With the passing of more and more Civil War veterans the former vocal constituency for Civil War sites was lessening, thus allowing budgets for such programs to be cut back without undue political ramifications. For instance, the Quartermaster General noted:

The appropriations of the past several years have not been adequate to cover the cost of maintenance and the making of the necessary improvements at the various national cemeteries, etc., and considerable work in the way of constructing new buildings, etc., is now being held in abeyance, due to lack of funds. The estimates for national cemeteries for the fiscal year 1912 have been increased sufficiently to cover such improvements as are urgent, and it is hoped sufficient funds will be appropriated to enable the department to make some headway along this line.²¹

By 1910 the custom of giving preference to Civil War veterans in making appointments for national cemetery superintendents was being questioned. The Quartermaster General observed that the custom was not "required by law, and due to the advancing age of these

20. War Department, Office of the Quartermaster General, Washington, March 1, 1909, National and Post Cemeteries, General Correspondence, Gettysburg, Cemeterial Files, Record Group 92, Records of the Office of the Quartermaster General, National Archives and Records Service, Washington, D.C.

21. *Annual Reports of the War Department*, 1910, I, 294. During fiscal year 1910 cast-iron tablets, 56 inches high by 33 inches wide, containing the words of the Gettysburg Address were placed in national cemeteries.

veterans it is thought advisable to make a departure from this custom and to appoint younger men to these positions in [the] future."²²

By the mid-1910s automobile congestion at Gettysburg National Cemetery was becoming a problem for management. The entrance to Taneytown Road constructed in 1891 had created an entirely new traffic plan in the cemetery, and it had become a shortcut to the battlefield. On August 2, 1916, L. C. Scherer, in charge of the quartermaster's depot at Washington, D.C., wrote:

On a recent trip to the Gettysburg National Cemetery, it was noted that there is considerable congestion and confusion of automobiles in and out of the cemetery, it appearing that the large number of tourists visiting the battlefield use the cemetery as a means of access in going to and from the battlefield.

This office has in mind either of closing the cemetery entirely to automobile traffic, or allowing the movement of traffic in one direction only. . . .

While a decision on the traffic situation – an example of how development of the battlefield was affecting cemetery use – was deferred, the issue would confront cemetery officials for years to come. Other issues that would be discussed in years to come were also confronting cemetery officials at this time. Among these were use of acids and cleaning fluids in the monuments and gravestones, inappropriate use of the cemetery, and damage to the monuments and headstones by mowing equipment.²³

Appropriations for improvements in national cemeteries continued to be inadequate to meet existing needs for maintenance and operations during World War I. In 1917, for instance, the quartermaster general observed:

. . . it is earnestly recommended that the appropriation be sufficiently increased to meet the actual requirements of the service. Owing to the increase in the price of labor, material, forage, fuel, and straw, it has been found impracticable to make needed improvements and repairs at many of the national cemeteries, and it is again recommended that in submitting estimates for the fiscal year

22. *Ibid.* I, 296. Despite these views, however, Jefferys, a non-veteran who was appointed in 1914, was replaced in 1915 by Chapman, a Civil War veteran. Chapman was replaced by Bodley, another veteran, in 1918. Bodley was the oldest of the active national cemetery superintendents when he retired in 1930.

23. Scherer to Superintendent, Gettysburg National Cemetery, August 2, 1916, Letters Received, Gettysburg National Cemetery, GNMP Library.

1919 the amount asked for care and maintenance of national cemeteries be increased to \$150,000.²⁴

During World War I and the immediate postwar period the Office of the Quartermaster General was reorganized several times.²⁵ On February 26, 1920, a new cemeterial division was created, which among other administrative responsibilities had jurisdiction over the national cemeteries.²⁶

Funds for the operation and maintenance of Gettysburg National Cemetery were inadequate during the early 1920s. On September 6, 1922, the cemetery was inspected by the Inspector General's department. The inspection report stated "that considerable repairs were required in the way of resurfacing roads, repairing benches, resetting curbing, and replacing tablets by Government headstones, none of which work could be done, due to lack of funds." In fiscal year 1923 only \$1,575.13 was appropriated for the maintenance of the cemetery.²⁷

During the late 1920s various changes were made in the cemetery by the War Department, many of which were alterations or deletions from the original Saunders' plan to save maintenance time and expenditure of funds. Among these were the construction of a brick comfort station and utility building in 1927. In December of the following year War Department officials inspected the cemetery, concluding their report by stating:

The graves are beautifully arranged on concentric arcs and circles, and each grave is marked with a marble headstone. Trees and shrubs are in abundance, and the gentle slope of the land in nearly every direction, affording a magnificent view, makes this one of the most beautiful of the national cemeteries.²⁸

On July 1, 1930, administrative control of the national military parks and cemeteries was transferred from the Quartermaster Corps depots to the commanding generals of the corps areas in which they were located. This transfer placed the park and cemetery at

24. *Annual Report of the War Department, 1917, I, 291.* During 1916 the lower road in Gettysburg National Cemetery was resurfaced at a cost of \$300. *Ibid.*, 1916, I, 332.

25. *Ibid.*, 1919, I, 739-40.

26. *Ibid.*, 1920, I, 433-35.

27. Davis to Pepper, March 26, 1923, Records of the War Department Relating to National Parks, 1892-1937, Record Group 79, Records of the National Park Service, National Archives and Records Administration, Washington, D.C. Hereafter, these records will be referred to as War Department Records, RG 79.

28. Inspection, Gettysburg National Cemetery, Pa., December 12, 1928, War Department Records, RG 79.

Gettysburg under the Commanding General, 3rd Corps Area, based in Baltimore, Maryland.²⁹

29. See U.S. War Department, *National Cemetery Regulations*, War Department, Approved and Published By Authority of the Secretary of War, Office of the Quartermaster General, March 9, 1931 (Washington, 1931), and U.S. War Department, *National Military Park, National Park, Battlefield Site and National Monument Regulations*, War Department, Approved and Published By Authority of the Secretary of War, Office of the Quartermaster General, October 6, 1931 (Washington, 1931) for data on the operation and administration of national military parks and cemeteries during this period.

CHAPTER IV:
PRESERVATION EFFORTS OF THE
GETTYSBURG BATTLEFIELD MEMORIAL ASSOCIATION: 1864-1895

While the national cemetery at Gettysburg was being developed under the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania and the U.S. War Department, preservation of significant portions of the battlefield continued under the auspices of the Gettysburg Battlefield Memorial Association (GBMA). As mentioned in Chapter I the purposes of McConaughy in preserving portions of the battlefield became part of the charter of the Gettysburg Battlefield Memorial Association. On April 30, 1864, the legislature of Pennsylvania conferred upon the association the rights of a corporation. Sections 2 and 3 of "An Act to Incorporate the Gettysburg Battle-Field Memorial Association" stated the purposes of the organization:

That the object of said Association shall be, to hold and preserve, the battle-grounds of Gettysburg, on which were fought the actions of the first, second, and third days of July, Anno Domini one thousand eight hundred and sixty-three, with the natural and artificial defences, as they were at the time of said battle, and by such perpetuation, and such memorial structures as a generous and patriotic people may aid to erect, to commemorate the heroic deeds, the struggles, and the triumphs of their brave defenders.

That for its said purpose, the said Association shall have power to take, and to hold, by gift, grant, devise, purchase, or lease, such personal property and effects, and all such portions of said battle-grounds as may be necessary, or convenient, to promote and accomplish the object of its incorporation, to enclose, and perpetuate, said grounds and defences, to keep them in repair and a state of preservation, to construct and maintain ways and roads, to improve and ornament the grounds and to erect and promote the erection by voluntary contributions of structures and works or art and taste thereon, adapted to designate the spots of special interest, to commemorate the great deeds of valor, endurance, and noble self-sacrifice, and to perpetuate the memory of the heroes, and the signal events, which render these battle-grounds illustrious; and, to these ends, to make such by-laws, rules, and regulations as may be necessary, and proper, for the government of the affairs and promotion of the purposes of said Association; the property of said Association shall not be subject to attachment, or execution, and the lands acquired for the purposes of said Association, with its personal property, and the improvements and appurtenances shall be forever exempt from taxation, and also from the payment of an enrolment tax.¹

1. "An Act to Incorporate the Gettysburg Battle-Field Memorial Association," April 30, 1864, printed in John M. Vanderslice, *Gettysburg: A History of the Gettysburg Battle-field Memorial Association With An Account of the Battle Giving Movements, Positions, and Losses of the Commands Engaged* (Philadelphia, 1897), pp. 199-201. The full text of the act may be seen in Appendix G.

The concept of a memorial park embracing the battlefield itself was a new one, and the Gettysburg effort was probably the first of its kind undertaken during the war.

In December 1865 an article in *Hours At Home* extolled the patriotic impulses of the association. Although the anonymous author confused the development of the national cemetery and the efforts of the GBMA, he nevertheless described the early efforts of the association in preserving significant portions of the battlefield:

This National Cemetery must become more and more a place of pilgrimage as the years roll by, and the traces of the war in the Southern States become less and less legible. Indeed, from the nature of the case, hardly any battle ground of the rebellion can be so well preserved as this of Gettysburgh. . . .

By the wise forethought and patriotic zeal of citizens of the town, all the salient points of the battle-ground have been purchased and secured in perpetuity for the public benefit. And pains have been taken by both scholarly and practical men, while every incident of the battle is fresh in the recollection of witnesses, to verify each fact worthy of being remembered, and to identify every spot of historical interest. In some parts of the field the intrenchments will be kept as the armies left them; trees bearing the marks of shell and bullets will be carefully preserved; and memorial stones will indicate where prominent officers fell, or where deeds of special prowess were performed. The whole country has an interest in this careful identification of the field; and our citizens generally should share with the Gettysburgh Association the cost of preserving the battle-ground, and of completing the National Cemetery. Of course, the greater part of the field will remain the property of private individuals, and from this all traces of the fight will be obliterated by time and by the hand of industry. . . .²

Nearly two years after the incorporation of the GBMA the legislature of Pennsylvania passed a bill supplementing the association's establishing act. This law provided for legal penalties and law enforcement procedures for the destruction of historic and commemorative resources on GBMA property. The supplemental act also authorized:

That the president and directors of the said Gettysburg Battle-field Memorial Association shall have power and authority, by themselves, committees, engineer, surveyor, superintendent, or agents, by them to be appointed, to survey, locate, and lay out roads and avenues from any public road or roads in the vicinity of Gettysburg, or of the said battle-grounds, to and upon, and also in and through, any portion or portions of said battle-grounds, not, however, passing through any dwelling-house, or any burying-ground, or any place of public worship, and to open and fence, or

2. "The National Cemetery At Gettysburgh," *Hours At Home*, II (December, 1865), 181-84.

otherwise enclose, such roads and avenues, the latter of a width not exceeding three hundred feet; and the same may be laid out so as to embrace any breastworks, or lines of defences, or positions of the forces engaged in the battle of Gettysburg, and with power to plant rows or colonnades of trees upon said roads and avenues.

The supplemental act gave the GBMA authority to condemn land for the purpose of building avenues and roads on the battlefield.³

McConaughy, who held the key topographic features of the battlefield in trust for the GBMA, was reimbursed for his purchases from commonwealth appropriations in 1867-68. In each of those years the Pennsylvania legislature appropriated \$3,000, "to be applied to the purchase of portions of the battle-grounds, and the general purposes for which said Association was incorporated."⁴

The Gettysburg battlefield was surveyed under the direction of Brevet Major General G. K. Warren, Major of Engineers, in 1868-69. This four-sheet map was prepared for use in military instruction and for documentation to accompany the Official Records of the war.⁵

The reunion of the officers of the Army of the Potomac in August 1869 was hosted by the board of directors of the GBMA. The meetings were held in Gettysburg over a six-day period. The reunion was coordinated and initiated by the board, and McConaughy played a prominent role in the proceedings of the meeting.

The next meetings of the GBMA for which there are available records were held on June 10-11, 1872. The following persons, which included local, state, and military officials and veterans of the battle, were elected as officers and directors:

President, Governor John W. Geary; Vice-President, David McConaughy; directors, Henry C. Carey, Edmund Souder, General J. Watts De Peyster, Wm. M. Hirsh, A. D. Heister, David McConaughy, Joel B. Danner, George Arnold, Alex. D. Buehler, Dr. Charles Horner, J. Lawrence Schick, and John M. Krauth.

3. "A Supplement to An Act Entitled 'An Act to Incorporate the Gettysburg Battle-Field Memorial Association,'" printed in Vanderslice, *Gettysburg: A History of the Gettysburg Battle- Field Memorial Association*, pp. 202-04. The full text of this act may be seen in Appendix H.

4. Vanderslice, *Gettysburg: A History of the Gettysburg Battle-Field Memorial Association*, pp. 204-05.

5. Map of the Battlefield of Gettysburg, Surveyed and Drawn under the direction of Bvt. Maj. Gen. G. K. Warren, Major of Engineers, 1868-69 (copy on file at GNMP Library).

Arnold was subsequently elected treasurer and Krauth as secretary. More than half of the officers were local residents, including McConaughy, Danner, Arnold, Buehler, Horner, Schick, and Krauth.⁶

The board of directors met in McConaughy's office in Gettysburg on June 11. McConaughy was appointed counsel and actuary with an annual salary of \$1,000 and empowered to solicit funds from the states to carry out the objectives of the GBMA. The commander-in-chief of the U.S. Army, along with his staff and corps, division, and brigade commanders, were elected honorary members of the association. The GBMA officers were instructed to request from the President, executive department officials, and state governors condemned ordnance for use on the battlefield.⁷

At the request of the GBMA, Congress passed legislation approved on March 3, 1873, authorizing the Secretary of War to donate condemned cannon and cannon balls to the GBMA for use on the battlefield. The GBMA, however, could never afford decent carriages to carry the tubes, and thus only mounted guns in any kind of numbers at Stevens Knoll, East Cemetery Hill, and Little Round Top. Later the GBMA stockpiled most of the condemned cannon inherited by the War Department in 1895.

On July 26, 1873, a meeting of the board's members who were residents of Gettysburg was held. The Gettysburg committee had been empowered to execute day-to-day operations and decisions pertaining to the battlefield. Thus, it was resolved that Dr. J. Rutherford Wooster be authorized to aid McConaughy in his capacity as actuary and visit the state legislatures of Connecticut, New Hampshire, and Rhode Island to solicit funds for the association's efforts.⁸

In 1873 John B. Bachelder, a prominent tour and resort promoter, published the first edition of his *Gettysburg: What to See, And How to See It*. He had been working with the GBMA as its historian since at least the 1869 officers' reunion. The publication was a guidebook to

6. Minutes of the 1869 reunion meeting are in the collections of the Huntington Library in San Marino, California. Photocopies and typescripts of these minutes may be found in the GNMP vertical files. A list of directors of the GBMA from 1872 to 1896 may be seen in Appendix I. A bound typescript volume of the Minutes of the Gettysburg Battlefield Memorial Association, 1872-1895, may be found in the GNMP Library. In 1866 and 1869 officers' reunions had been held to mark important positions on the battlefield. This was the first effort to mark and interpret the battlefield, thus giving the GBMA the knowledge it needed to preserve key and important sites.

7. Vanderslice, *Gettysburg: A History of the Gettysburg Battle-Field Memorial Association*, pp. 205-06.

8. *Ibid.*, pp. 207-08.

be used by visitors to the battlefield, including a compass-face guide and isometrical plan to aid in the identification of historical landmarks and military movements on the battlefield. Bachelder made observations on routes to Gettysburg, how to visit the battlefield, and how to prepare for such an excursion. He noted:

If the visitor to Gettysburg intends to remain during the season, and the many charming retreats in the vicinity will prove a strong temptation to do so, he will at his leisure visit the entire field and study it in all its details; but to many economy in time will be an important desideratum.

The battle will be much better comprehended if we commence with the theatre of the first day's engagement; study the various approaches, and carry in mind the succeeding movements of the two armies. To do this satisfactorily, requires considerable time; as some localities were fought over repeatedly, and on different days. If you would avoid confounding the movements in the mind, several visits must be made. . . . Unquestionably the pleasantest and best way for those accustomed to the exercise, is to secure a saddle horse, as very many places can thus be examined which would never be visited with a carriage. If you have ever ridden on horseback this will be an excellent occasion to continue the practice; nor should those but little accustomed to this exercise be deterred from the attempt. There is no necessity for fast riding, indeed it is not expected, and the most timid should not hesitate. Ladies will find it prudent to take a riding-skirt from home, rather than rely on getting one in town. Many interesting points can be visited by public conveyance, with a little occasional walking. The Theological Seminary is reached from either hotel by street cars, and on its cupola an hour may be profitably and pleasantly spent. The National Cemetery, East Cemetery Hill, Cup's Hill, Oak Hill, and other points of interest, are in the suburbs of the town. Around each, centres a train of historic events; and it is much better, if you have the time to spare, to examine them in a leisurely way.

The visitor who neither rides on horseback, nor cares to walk, can always be accommodated with a carriage, in which the more prominent places can be readily visited, and studied. . . .⁹

Despite the enthusiasm of the board of directors little real progress resulted from the efforts of the GBMA during the 1870s. Members of the board who were not residents of Gettysburg apparently did not attend meetings, and there are no records of board meetings between August 26, 1874, and July 7, 1879. On the former date McConaughy, who was entrusted with the work of the board, declined to receive any salary in view of the financial plight of the organization. At a meeting on the latter date a committee was appointed to examine and report upon the amount, condition, and title of the lands held by the GBMA as

9. Bachelder, *Gettysburg: What to See, And How to See It*, pp. 15-18. Bachelder continued to publish updated and revised editions of this publication during the next two decades.

well as its financial condition. The report was to serve as a basis of correspondence with nonresident members of the board and revive interest in the objectives of the association. The report of the treasurer, submitted on July 19, 1879, showed that the GBMA was in debt to the amount of \$165.46.¹⁰

Meanwhile, other efforts were underway to promote the purposes of the GBMA. In the summer of 1878 the Grand Army of the Republic (GAR) of Pennsylvania held a reunion at Gettysburg, encamping for a week on East Cemetery Hill. During the reunion the General Strong Vincent Post, No. 67, of Erie erected upon Little Round Top a marble tablet to mark the spot where General Vincent was killed – the first memorial to be erected upon the battlefield outside of the cemetery. The Colonel Fred Taylor Post, No. 19, of Philadelphia also placed a small tablet to mark the spot where the colonel fell while leading the 13th Pennsylvania Reserves in front of Round Top. John M. Vanderslice of Philadelphia was the assistant adjutant-general of the department at the time, and both the potential of the battlefield and inactivity of the GBMA attracted his attention. Accordingly, he determined that the GAR should assume control and direction of the GBMA, and he sent circulars to GAR posts and letters to influential friends throughout the commonwealth to obtain his goal.¹¹

Before the annual election of the GBMA in 1880 some 100 shares of stock had been purchased by posts of the GAR and individuals in sympathy with Vanderslice's intentions. Thus, the GAR had become the majority stockholder of the GBMA. Prior to the election, proxies were procured from the new stockholders and sent to Major Robert Bell of Gettysburg with the recommendation that a board of directors be elected in which GAR members would constitute a majority. At the meeting of the stockholders on June 21, 1880, the following persons, most of whom were GAR members, were elected to the board:

President, *ex officio*, Governor Henry M. Hoyt; Vice-President, Robert G. McCreary; Directors, General W. S. Hancock, General S. W. Crawford, General Louis Wagner, John M. Vanderslice, Major Chill W. Hazzard, Captain John Taylor, Colonel C. H. Buehler, Major Robert Bell, N. G. Wilson, J. L. Schick, Dr. Charles Horner, and John M Krauth.

10. Vanderslice, *Gettysburg: A History of the Gettysburg Battle-Field Memorial Association*, pp. 208-10.

11. *Ibid.*, pp. 210-11. During the summer of 1879 the 2d Massachusetts Infantry placed the first regimental monument on the battlefield near Spangler's Spring at the point where its men began their charge across Spangler's Meadow on July 3, 1863. Frederick Tilberg, "Vignettes of the Battlefield," Gettysburg National Military Park, July, 1968, Tilberg Files, Monuments, General Information, GNMP Library.

The money realized from the sale of the stock certificates during the year had been sufficient to liquidate the debt of the organization and leave a balance of \$515.97 in the treasury.¹²

Under the GAR the GBMA became active in memorializing events and individuals on the battlefield, securing appropriations from the states for purchasing additional land (as of 1880, the GBMA owned land only on and near Culp's Hill, East Cemetery Hill, and Little Round Top), and improving and making the battlefield more accessible to the public. At a meeting of the new board on July 2 Sergeant Nicholas G. Wilson, superintendent of the national cemetery, was appointed general superintendent of the grounds of the association. As his first assignment Wilson was instructed to have the roads upon the grounds repaired.¹³

Thereafter, the GAR of Pennsylvania held annual one-week encampments on the battlefield each summer from 1880 to 1894 except for 1884 and 1891. Congress authorized the Secretary of War to provide tents and other articles to the GAR for these encampments.¹⁴

At a meeting held in the headquarters tent on East Cemetery Hill during the GAR encampment on July 23, 1880, Vanderslice resigned as a director of the GBMA in favor of Colonel John B. Bachelder of Massachusetts who had devoted years of study to the battle. It was Bachelder's historical research efforts over the years since the battle on which the land acquisition, preservation, marking, and commemoration efforts had been based. The significance of Bachelder's studies of the Gettysburg battlefield was ably described by Senator Wade Hampton of South Carolina in March 1880:

It appears that Mr. Bachelder, having the advantage of a military education, and love of history, went to the front early in 1862, more than a year before the battle of Gettysburg, to be in a position to collect data when the most important battle of the War was fought. After working up the details of several engagements, he reached the battlefield of Gettysburg before the dead were buried, remaining for eighty-four days, making plans of the field, visiting the wounded in hospital, and by permission taking the convalescent officers over the field, by whom their positions and movements were pointed out and established. During this period books full of notes from these actors were

12. Vanderslice, *Gettysburg: A History of the Gettysburg Battle-Field Memorial Association*, pp. 211-12. Hancock and Crawford were generals who had participated in the Battle of Gettysburg.

13. *Ibid.*, p. 212.

14. For instance, see U.S. Congress, House, Committee on Military Affairs, *Encampment of the Grand Army of the Republic at Gettysburg, Pa.*, 47th Cong., 1st Sess., 1882, H. Rept. 685, p. 1, and U.S. Congress, House, Committee on Military Affairs, *Tents to the Grand Army of the Republic at Gettysburg, Pa.*, 47th Cong., 2d Sess., 1883, H. Rept. 1998, p. 1.

secured within a few weeks of the battle. With this information and sketches thus secured, he visited the Army of the Potomac, spending the winter of 1863-64 in consultation with the officers of every regiment and battery, whose conversations and explanations were carefully noted and preserved. At the close of the war, Mr. Bachelder issued an invitation to the many officers whose acquaintance he had made to visit Gettysburg with him for historical purposes, which was accepted by over one thousand; forty-nine of them generals commanding. From the acquaintance thus secured has resulted, during the past sixteen years, a most valuable correspondence regarding the battle of Gettysburg.¹⁵

Senator Hampton pointed out that when the War Department found the official reports of the battle so incomplete and conflicting that the positions of troops could not be located from them with accuracy required for official maps, Bachelder was employed to do the work. Maps were completed in 1876 representing the significant phases of the battle and were approved by the Secretary of War. Upon their distribution requests came to the Chief of Engineers from all sections of the country and from leading officers on both sides, urging the importance of compiling in text the knowledge embodied in the troop position maps.¹⁶

With his report, Senator Hampton introduced S. 1490, authorizing the appropriation of \$50,000 to conduct a topographical survey of the East Cavalry Field, "the whole to be done by or under the direction of Mr. John B. Bachelder." More importantly, however, was the bill's provision for compilation and preservation of data showing the various positions and movements of troops at the battle "illustrated by diagrams." The bill passed both houses of Congress and was approved by President James A. Garfield on June 9, 1880 (21 Stat. 170). Thus, Bachelder has been referred to as the first Gettysburg park historian. His standards of specialized historical research for the collection of combat history and for the marking and mapping of troop positions influenced the marking of other military parks and affected the type of interpretation presented to visitors, which for many years emphasized professional military study.¹⁷

15. U.S. Congress, Senate, Committee on Military Affairs, *In the Senate of the United States*, 46th Cong., 2d Sess., 1880, H. Rept. 382, pp. 1-2. Also see U.S. Congress, Senate, Committee on Military Affairs, *Resolutions of the Society of the Society of the Potomac*, 45th Cong., 3d Sess., 1878, S. Misc. Doc. 14, pp. 1-2.

16. H. Rept. 382, p. 3.

17. U.S. Department of the Interior, National Park Service, *The Origin and Evolution of the National Military Park Idea*, by Ronald F. Lee, 1973, p. 24, and Henry Sweetser Burrage, *Gettysburg and Lincoln: the Battle, the Cemetery, and the National Park* (New York, 1906), pp. 150-51. The 1880-funded maps were never printed or completed to the satisfaction of the War Department, even though Bachelder was paid the \$50,000 fee. Fourteen volumes of typed manuscripts and reports were completed and submitted by Bachelder as the "Official History" of the Battle of Gettysburg. The history proved superfluous, however, since it was completed almost
(continued...)

On July 23, 1881, the GBMA board appointed a committee to solicit appropriations from the states to purchase additional land, make improvements, lay out avenues, and make the battlefield more accessible to the public. The efforts of this committee were successful in securing a \$10,000 appropriation from Pennsylvania during the winter of 1880-81.¹⁸

At a meeting of the board of directors on July 28, 1881, several decisions were made to lay out avenues and improve access to the battlefield. It was determined to open an avenue along the line of battle from the Taneytown Road to Little Round Top, the avenue to be sixty feet wide except at important points where the width was to be three hundred feet. A proposal to open an avenue along the cemetery wall from the Baltimore Pike to the Taneytown Road was discussed but never implemented. On November 16 the terms of the property owners over whose land the aforementioned avenue to Little Round Top was to pass were rejected by the GBMA, and it decided to commence condemnation proceedings.

During the summer of 1881 the board of directors met on several occasions. On June 2 a delegation of Confederate soldiers visited the field to help locate the position of several commands. The board determined on July 27 to purchase part of the Wheat Field and additional land on Little Round Top and construct an avenue from East Cemetery Hill via Culp's Hill to the extreme right of the position of the Twelfth Corps. The superintendent was instructed to have the works on the field reconstructed wherever possible. It was decided to have sign boards painted to locate as nearly as possible the positions of the Pennsylvania and the 1st Minnesota regiments (since those were the only two states that had appropriated funds for the GBMA) and to mark the prominent points on the battlefield.¹⁹

Reports of the GBMA executive committee, comprised of local resident members of the board, for December 1881 and December 1882 indicate that the work of preserving the battlefield was continuing. In the former year the committee noted:

Since the publication of our address last winter we have made considerable progress in our work. The Legislature of Pennsylvania, by Act approved June 29, 1881, made an additional appropriation of \$10,000 in aid of the Association. This has enabled us, in the exercise of our chartered rights, to lay out an Avenue from the National Cemetery along the line of battle as

17.(...continued)

simultaneously with the publication by the War Department of the *Official Records of the War of the Rebellion*. Bachelder was referred to as the "Government historian of the battle of Gettysburg" in an 1890 Congressional bill to mark Confederate battle lines.

18. Vanderslice, *Gettysburg: A History of the Gettysburg Battle-Field Memorial Association*, pp. 212-14.

19. *Ibid.*, pp. 214-16.

established July 2nd and 3rd, 1863, as far as Little Round Top, a distance of about two miles, and connecting with our lands at that point. The width of this Avenue varies from sixty to three hundred feet and covers about twenty-seven acres of land, making the aggregate amount owned by the Association nearly One Hundred and Fifty Acres, not including Forty Acres owned by Gen. Crawford in front of Little Round Top, over which his Division made their splendid charge.

We are now arranging for the construction of Iron Fences along the Avenue so opened, and propose, as early as the weather will permit in the spring, to proceed with the construction of a good carriage and foot-passenger road along this line; and also, as rapidly as funds can be secured, to proceed with the erection of permanent Monuments and Tablets so as to indicate and perpetuate upon the ground, so far as possible, the positions of the various bodies of troops engaged and the history of important operations and events connected with the battle.

One year later the executive committee observed:

We have enclosed our Avenue from the National Cemetery to Round Top with a good fence made of steel-barbed wire and locust posts, and have constructed a good Carriage Road the entire distance, well drained and McAdamized in low places.

We have purchased and paid for thirty-two acres additional land on the east and south of Culp's Hill, including the "Spangler Spring" and the ground over which the 2nd Mass. Vols. made their gallant charge July 3, 1863; also about thirty-five acres additional on the east and south slopes of Round Top, including the ground held by the 20th Maine Vols. in their splendid fight July 2nd, 1863; also the "Wheat-field" and woods south of it, which has been aptly styled the vortex of this great battle, and upon which so many brave men gave up their lives – thus making the amount of land held by the Association about 280 acres, including the "Crawford Glen," dedicated by its owner, Gen. S. W. Crawford, to the same uses, under the care of the Association.

The acquisition of these lands was deemed absolutely necessary in order to prevent them from being appropriated to other purposes and placed beyond our reach in the future; but their purchase, with the expenses connected with the opening and improvement of our Avenues, have exhausted our funds and obliged us to defer the work of renewing defences and constructing monuments until more means can be secured.

There are other points of special interest on the battlefield which ought to be acquired as soon as money can be raised for that purpose. . . .²⁰

20. "Report of the Executive Committee of the Gettysburg Battle-Field Memorial Association," Adopted December 20, 1881, and "Report of the Executive Committee of the Gettysburg Battle-Field Memorial Association," (continued...)

The Pennsylvania GAR reunion at Gettysburg in July 1882 caused difficulties with the local community because of regulations in the town not to sell liquor or tobacco on Sundays and complaints of overcharging at local boarding houses. Some 200 Pennsylvania posts participated with 3,000 veterans in attendance. The reunion was held on Cemetery Hill where 62 hospital and 100 A tents were erected with 25 additional tents being set up at headquarters.²¹

In the effort to attract expanded support and funding for its preservation activities at Gettysburg the association published in 1883 a document, entitled *Address of the Gettysburg Battle-Field Memorial Association*. The publication listed the accomplishments and future aims of the GBMA. The association had acquired six significant portions of the battlefield, including a portion of a grove near the Katalysine Springs west of town, parts of Little Round Top and Big Round Top, areas east of the cemetery, and grounds in the vicinities of McKnight's Hill and Culp's Hill. The publication went on to elaborate:

All these grounds remain as they were at the time of the battle, except so far as the marks have been effaced by the operation of natural causes; and to a large extent the lunettes and infantry defences have been renewed and preserved as originally constructed on these portions of the field. There have also been erected a number of guide-boards, at important points, indicating the positions of various bodies of troops and the localities of interesting events which occurred at the time of the battle; and in addition to these, forty pieces of artillery guns have been mounted at different points along the lines; and an effort is now being made to obtain from the U.S. Government a further grant of material for the same purpose. . . .

In order to carry out fully the purposes of the Association a further acquisition of territory is very desirable; especially south and east of our land on Culp's Hill including the line as far as Rock creek; and west of our land at Round Top, including that now owned by Gen. Crawford; and also the summit of the ridge on which was the Union line of battle extending from the National Cemetery to Little Round Top. If this additional territory can be secured, (as we think it may be without any very great expenditure of money,) it will then be exceedingly desirable to have proper avenues laid out and constructed along the whole line, so as to afford easy access to, and a full view of, every portion of this historic ground. . . .

20.(...continued)

Adopted December 28, 1882, in *Address of the Gettysburg Battle-Field Memorial Association* [1882-83], Vertical Files, Gettysburg Battlefield Memorial Association, GNMP Library.

21. *National Tribune*, July 29, 1882, in Vertical Files, Reunions & Veterans Meetings at Gettysburg, GNMP Library.

If the enlargement and improvements designed and suggested can be carried into effect, we shall have preserved, for the contemplation of the military student and tourist of future years, a history, delineated upon the ground, of the most important battle of modern times; and shall also possess a Park, the diversified and striking natural beauty of which can hardly be excelled.

The purchase and improvement of the grounds thus far has involved the expenditure of a considerable amount of money; but much more will be necessary in order to carry out the designs of the Association. We solicit therefore the assistance, co-operation and influence of liberal and patriotic citizens throughout the whole country; and especially we desire the sympathy and efforts of the Grand Army of the Republic in its behalf. Very many of our stock-holders and officers belong to that organization and we should be very glad to receive a large increase of membership from their ranks.²²

In June 1883 provision was made for the GBMA board, which hitherto had consisted exclusively of Pennsylvanians, to include residents of other states and thus enhance the national constituency of the association. New members of the board included Generals Joshua Chamberlain of Maine, John C. Robinson of New York, and George L. Stannard of Vermont. Colonel Bachelder of Massachusetts, who had been elected to the board in 1880, was selected as Superintendent of Tablets and Legends. At a subsequent meeting it was decided that memorials to be erected on the battlefield should be submitted to Bachelder for his approval of the historical accuracy of the inscription and location.

During 1883 Massachusetts contributed a \$5,000 appropriation to the GBMA. The positions of all the Massachusetts commands were located, and it was decided to purchase the ground necessary for the erection of monuments, for each of which the state had appropriated \$500. Massachusetts thus became the first state to appropriate funds for the erection of monuments upon the battlefield.²³

Various decisions were made by the board of directors in 1884 to enhance the work of the GBMA. A reward of \$50 was offered for the detection of any one destroying, mutilating, or removing property of the association. A committee on legislation was appointed to urge state legislatures to appropriate funds and adopt other measures to increase interest on the part of the public and Civil War veterans in the work of the GBMA. It was

22. *Address of the Gettysburg Battle-Field Memorial Association* [1883], in untitled volume, GNMP Library.

23. Vanderslice, *Gettysburg: A History of the Gettysburg Battle-Field Memorial Association*, pp. 216-17.

decided to open an avenue from Oak Ridge via Reynolds Woods to the extreme left of the First Corps line of battle.²⁴

In early 1885 the GBMA published a pamphlet entitled *Gettysburg Battlefield Memorial Association: Its Organization, Plans and Purposes*. The publication provided data on the operation and administration of the organization as well as its urgent need for additional funds. It stated in part:

The Association is managed by a President and Board of thirteen Directors, elected annually by the members. The membership fee is \$10, entitling the party to a handsome steel plate engraved Certificate, a vote in person or by proxy in the election of officers of the Association and participation in its general management. A large majority of the Certificates of membership are now held by Veterans and Posts of the Grand Army of the Republic, who thereby control the franchises of the Association. Its aims and purposes are NATIONAL, with a membership widely scattered over different States. It is LOCAL only in the sense that it aims to preserve the battle-field of Gettysburg and to perpetuate its historic relations to the great struggle for the suppression of the rebellion. Steps have been taken to amend the Charter so as to give each State making an appropriation to the Association, the right of official representation in the Board of Directors.

In furtherance of its design the Association from time to time, as funds in the treasury justified, has purchased and holds in fee simple about 250 acres of land, embracing a portion of the grove where Gen. Reynolds fell, the two Round Tops, the Wheat Field, East Cemetery Hill, Culp's Hill, the entire Union line of battle from Cemetery Hill to Round Top, &c. It has also the care and custody of about 40 acres of land owned by Gen. Crawford, including the "Devil's Den" and the ground lying between the Wheat Field and the Round Tops. About four miles of drive-way along the Union lines reaching various points of interest, have been constructed, the most of which is substantially enclosed with wire fence. The places reached by these drive-ways are off the public roads, and heretofore could only be traversed on foot.

Although many points of historic interest have been secured, the lands already purchased form relatively a small proportion of the forty square miles of territory which the field embraces and which the General Government has surveyed. Properties are changing hands, woods liable to be leveled, houses erected, fences changed, stone defences removed, and other improvements made which would destroy the historic characteristics of the field. Prompt steps should be taken to secure whatever lands the Association may ultimately require for the preservation of the important centres of the great struggle.

One of the main aims of the Association is to facilitate the erection of Memorial Tablets and Monuments, by the purchase of the grounds occupied

24. *Ibid.*, pp. 217-19.

by the various organizations during the battle. Memorial structures have already been erected on different portions of the field by the 27th, 72nd, 88th, 91st, 93d, 106th, 118th, 147th and 153d Pa. Vol. Regiments; Battery B., 1st Pa. Artillery; 2d Massachusetts; 14th and 17th Connecticut; 124th New York; 2nd Wisconsin; 2d Cavalry Division; Gen. Zook Post 11, Norristown, Pa; Gen. Strong Vincent Post 67, Erie, Pa; also Memorials to memory of Col. C. Frederick Taylor, 13th Pa. Reserves, and Lieut. Col. Henry C. Mervin, 27th Connecticut. An increasing interest in this direction is manifest. During the coming year all the Massachusetts regiments and batteries will erect handsome memorial tablets. . . .

The Association can only proceed with this work, as it can command the requisite funds to meet expenses, its policy being to contract no debts or liabilities. It has but two sources of revenue, viz: the proceeds of membership fees, and appropriations by States whose troops were engaged in the battle. Every dollar coming into the treasury from either source is applied to the purchase of lands, opening avenues, constructing roadways, and other necessary expenses. NO SALARIES ARE PAID TO ANY OF THE OFFICERS – the work of the members of the Board being purely one of love. . . .²⁵

The charter of the GBMA was revised by the Adams county courts on April 21, 1885. The amended charter provided, among other things, for an expansion of the board of directors to 21 members to be elected "annually on the first Monday of June, at Gettysburg." New bylaws for the association were adopted in accordance with the revised charter on June 16, 1885.²⁶

By 1885 a number of states had responded to the call for appropriations from the association. These included: Connecticut, \$2,500; Rhode Island, \$1,000; Delaware, \$500 (in addition to funds for the erection of monuments for its requirements); and Indiana, \$3,000 for monuments only. The board of directors thus determined to issue a certificate of membership to the governor, *ex officio*, of each state that had made an appropriation to the association. Subsequently, the association passed resolutions requiring each organization intending to erect a monument or tablet on the battlefield to have prepared a suitable inscription, showing "its historical relation to the battle as to time and service."²⁷

25. *Gettysburg Battlefield Memorial Association: Its Organization, Plans and Purposes* ([Gettysburg, 1885]), n.p. (Copy on file in Department of Manuscripts, The Huntington Library, San Marino, California.)

26. Amendments to charter and bylaws printed in Vanderslice, *Gettysburg: A History of the Gettysburg Battle-Field Memorial Association*, pp 219-20. A copy of the amendments and bylaws may be seen in Appendixes J and K, respectively. President Grover Cleveland visited the battlefield on May 4, 1885.

27. *Ibid.*, pp. 220-23, 225-26.

As more and more monuments were being erected on the battlefield the board took measures to ensure the historical accuracy of their inscriptions and their locations. The board resolved on June 16, 1885:

That hereafter regiments that shall erect monuments on the battle-field shall be required at the time to mark the flanks of their position whenever practicable; that any regiment notifying the Association of its intention to erect a monument shall be informed by the secretary of the rule in reference to inscriptions, and, upon failure to comply with its requirements, the Association shall have the necessary inscription placed on said tablet or memorial.²⁸

In 1886 J. Howard Wert published his *A Complete Hand-Book of the Monuments and Indications And Guide to the Positions on the Gettysburg Battle-Field*. In his work Wert described the battlefield, the efforts of the GBMA, and increasing visitation to Gettysburg. He observed:

No battle-field of the Great Rebellion, none indeed of the world's history, is so visited yearly as is that of Gettysburg. In 1884 and 1885 at least 150,000 visitors passed over its historic grounds. But, great as has been the influx in the past, it appears as if the tide had only fairly commenced. The near future will behold visitors from every portion of the United States and the civilized world in numbers far surpassing what has yet been.

There are now upon the field approaching one hundred monuments and memorial indications. . . .

Numerous as are the commemoration monuments and stones, nearly all have been erected within the past two years; and two years more will behold the number doubled if not trebled. State and regimental pride has been aroused to tell the world the story of the valor of the Army of the Potomac. Ere five years elapse the battle-field of Gettysburg will present one continuous and unbroken chain of works of art to perpetuate to unborn generations the position of every one of the three hundred and sixty regiments and batteries of the Union army that participated in a battle the most important on which the sun ever shone. Nor will the indications be confined to the Union line. The veterans of the army of Northern Virginia, who here so bravely fought in a "lost cause," are taking steps to mark the points from which they hurled forth those fearful charges of death upon men as brave as themselves. . . .

The Battle-field Memorial Association has done a noble work in preserving the essential landmarks of the great conflict. They have pressed steadily forward, till they now own for perpetual preservation many of the most prominent historic spots, and they will probably have in the near future all the great battle-centres of the field under their control. . . .

28. *Ibid.*, p. 226.

Amongst the many energetic workers stands out conspicuously for his untiring efforts, Col. John B. Bachelder of Boston, Superintendent of Tablets and Legends, who has for twenty-two years made this field a constant study, until he literally KNOWS every inch of its surface. His interest in the objects of the Association has never faltered. Great praise is also due to Sergeant Nicholas G. Wilson, the efficient local superintendent of the grounds and keeper of the National cemetery, who has labored most earnestly to push forward the erection of monumental structures. . . .²⁹

In 1886 the GBMA board took a variety of actions, encouraged by the fact that six states had appropriated \$18,500 for the work of the association. It was determined to open an avenue along the Eleventh Corps line of battle and request an appropriation from Congress for marking the positions of the Regular commands. The association, concerned about the monumentation in the adjacent National Cemetery, requested the Secretary of War not to permit the erection of any regimental memorial in the cemetery until the location and inscription had been approved by the association.³⁰

Among the decisions of the association's board of directors in 1887 were authorization to purchase the house used as headquarters by Major General George G. Meade during the battle and passage of a resolution that "no monument or memorial constructed of other material than real bronze or granite shall be permitted on the grounds of the Association." This latter decision was made in response to the recent erection of zinc and cheaper stone monuments, whose durability and future maintenance were problematic. Monuments were to be placed at the location held by each regiment in the line of battle, and not at advanced positions reached by the regiment after moving from these battle lines. Names were also selected for avenues on the battlefield in honor of commanding Union officers during the battle:

Culp's Hill – Slocum Avenue
Taneytown Road to Weikert's House – Hancock Avenue
Weikert's House to road north of Little Round Top – Sedgwick Avenue
Round Top to Devil's Den – Sykes Avenue
Devil's Den to Wheat-Field – Sickles Avenue
Fairfield Road to Mummasburg Pike – Reynolds Avenue
Mummasburg Pike to Harrisburg Road – Howard Avenue

29. Wert, *A Complete Hand-Book of the Monuments and Indications And Guide to the Positions on the Gettysburg Battle-Field*, pp. 5-7. For more information on the condition and accessibility of the battlefield at this time see Jacob Hoke, *A Guide to the Battle-Field of Gettysburg* (Dayton, 1887), pp. 1-24.

30. Vanderslice, *Gettysburg: A History of the Gettysburg Battle-Field Memorial Association*, pp. 227-28. Also see "The Maryland Confederate Monument at Gettysburg," *Southern Historical Society Papers*, XI V (Jan.-Dec., 1886), 429-46, for the proceedings and speeches surrounding the dedication of the Maryland monument on the battlefield on November 19, 1886 – the first monument marking the position of a Confederate command at Gettysburg.

During the first two decades after the Civil War each section of the nation commemorated the war in its own way, the veterans also holding sectional reunions. By the late 1880s, however, the mellowing influence of time gradually broke down some barriers and overtures were made for joint reunions of northern and southern survivors. On July 3, 1887, for instance, 300 Virginia men who had spearheaded Pickett's charge again faced the Union defenders at the Angle at Gettysburg.³²

Throughout the 1880s the GBMA had taken steps to insure the protection, permanence, and historical accuracy of the location and inscription of the various memorials and monuments being placed on the battlefield. As the 25th anniversary of the battle approached a surge of interest by northern survivors brought forth numerous plans for erection of scores of regimental memorials to mark battle positions. To assure achievement of the GBMA goals for memorialization of the battlefield the board of directors in December 1887 expanded the association's committee on location of monuments to five members and charged it with responsibility for approval of both inscriptions and monuments. The committee, consisting of John M. Vanderslice, William D. Holtzworth, Calvin Hamilton, Nicholas G. Wilson, and John M. Krauth, developed rules, recommendations, and suggestions for the erection of monuments and memorials on the battlefield that were approved by the board of directors on July 3, 1888. The superintendent of grounds was instructed to rigidly enforce the regulations which were printed in circular form and widely distributed. These regulations were the culmination of the association's efforts to provide for uniformity, accuracy, and protection of monumentation at Gettysburg, and as such they would influence the development of memorialization on the battlefield for the next several decades.³³

The year 1888 saw the passage of numerous resolutions for proposed development of the battlefield. Several driveways and avenues were proposed but never constructed. The superintendent was authorized to mark the flanks of the divisions and place at the intersection of all driveways and avenues index boards stating the identity of the troops that had occupied the lines. Corps, divisions, and brigades which had participated in the battle

31. Vanderslice, *Gettysburg: A History of the Gettysburg Battle-Field Memorial Association*, pp. 229-35. While the avenue names were selected, controversies over some names led to postponement of their formal use for some time.

32. Frederick Tilberg, "A Century of Reunions," Gettysburg National Military Park, July 1968, p. 2, Vertical Files, Reunions & Veterans Meetings at Gettysburg, GNMP Library.

33. Vanderslice, *Gettysburg: A History of the Gettysburg Battlefield Memorial Association*, pp. 235-40. A copy of the regulations may be seen in Appendix L.

were invited to erect on the battlefield appropriate memorials commemorating patriotic services of officers who had distinguished themselves. This suggestion produced no results, as no one erected such memorials until after the War Department took over the park in 1895. It was decided to plant 125 trees on the denuded portion of Ziegler's Grove "to restore it as nearly as possible to the condition in which it was during the battle." This decision was also not acted upon until some years later when the War Department, through the Gettysburg National Park Commission, replanted denuded portions of the battlefield. Efforts were made to bring to the field all available cannon which had been donated by the War Department.³⁴

The initiatives taken to improve the battlefield and to erect markers and memorials in 1888 were spurred on by the preparations for the twenty-fifth anniversary commemoration of the battle on July 3-4. The July 3 commemoration featured a reenactment of Pickett's Charge, the Confederates assembling on Seminary ridge, riding across the fields in carriages, and leaving their conveyances only as they reached the "enemy" at the stonewall. The scene was described as follows:

The men in gray looked at the barrier, then at the men in blue. Silence, dead silence, fell upon them, and then one mighty cheer rose upon the air, repeated again . . . up and down the line, warm handclaps were repeated and the cheering was resumed. The scene was a memorable one . . .

On July 4, when many of the 133 regimental memorials were dedicated, participants described the day as one of "Fraternizing by the Blue and the Gray."³⁵

A long protracted legal battle during 1888-89 resulted from the efforts of the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania to mark its regimental commands on the battlefield. After the legislature appropriated funds for such markers, the GBMA agreed in April 1888 to purchase land that was necessary for monuments to mark six infantry regiments, six cavalry regiments, and one battery. During the ensuing months a controversy developed between the GBMA board and the survivors of the 72d Pennsylvania Infantry, who protested against having the regimental monument located in the second line of battle on the crest of the ridge at the "copse of trees" and requested permission to place it in the front line. The board responded by instructing the regiment to locate its principal monument on the line of battle occupied by it on the crest of the ridge and place a marker at the advanced position of its troops in compliance with the association's regulations. The dispute led to lengthy and costly litigation initiated in the court of Common Pleas of Adams County by the regiment. In 1891

34. *Ibid.*, pp. 240-45.

35. Tilberg, *A Century of Reunions*, p. 2.

the Pennsylvania Supreme Court, without addressing the merits of the case, decided in favor of the regiment on a technicality, thus allowing the 72d Pennsylvania to place its monument at the "advanced" position of its troops. The "line of battle" rule, however, continued to be the guiding standard for the monument policy of the GBMA and later the U.S. War Department and National Park Service.³⁶

In his *Gettysburg: A History of the Gettysburg Battle-Field Memorial Association*, Vanderslice reflected on the frustrations of the GBMA regarding this case. He observed:

It is to be regretted that, although the Association was able to satisfactorily remove any objections that were at any time raised by committees and others representing any of the other 309 Federal regiments and batteries, it was unfortunately unable to harmonize the difference between it and the committee representing the 72d Pennsylvania Infantry. . . . This [the regimental monument was placed] was done notwithstanding that the same regiment, when represented by a committee on which was the adjutant-general of the brigade to which the regiment belonged, had previously, when there were no rules regulating the matter, placed a monument on the very line designated by the Association as the proper one, and where the regiment had so gallantly stood and had suffered so fearfully. This, however, as has been stated, was the only trouble of unpleasant difference that the Association had in its difficult and arduous work of properly marking the field, and it had the gratification of knowing that its action in this instance was approved by all the officers of the brigade, including General Webb, its commander, and of the Division, and by all others correctly informed upon the subject.³⁷

During the early stages of the controversy between the GBMA and the 72d Pennsylvania, plans proceeded for the twenty-fifth anniversary celebration of the Battle of Gettysburg on July 1-3, 1888. Organized by the Society of the Army of the Potomac the commemoration was designed to foster a reconciliation of Northern and Southern war veterans through an invitation to survivors of both the Army of the Potomac and the Army of Northern Virginia. As the celebration was "national" in scope, the society requested an appropriation of \$25,000 from Congress to defray expenses.³⁸

The reunion celebration, however, was not as successful an overture as had been planned. The event, as well as its shortcomings, was described in the *Nation* on July 12:

36. *John Reed et al. vs. Gettysburg Battle-Field Memorial Association*, printed in *In the Court of Common Pleas of Adams County, Sitting in Equity*, January Term, 1889, no. 1, pp. 1-24.

37. Vanderslice, *Gettysburg: A History of the Gettysburg Battle-Field Memorial Association*, pp. 241-44.

38. U.S. Congress, House, Committee on Military Affairs, *Memorial of Society of the Army of the Potomac*, 50th Cong., 1st Sess., 1888, H. Rept. 2206, pp. 1-2.

The reunion of veterans at Gettysburg in the interest of peace and reconciliation between the blues and grays has not been the success in point of numbers which it was expected to be. The promoters appear to have relied all along on an appropriation of \$25,000, or thereabouts, from Congress, to provide subsistence and lodging for those who came on. This expectation was disappointed, and only a very small sum was voted at the last moment, which was expended in tents. The consequence of this was that the work of preparation was postponed from day to day until it was too late to give the necessary notice to men scattered so widely over the continent as the veterans of the two armies are, or to make any suitable arrangements for their reception. Of course there are not many veterans so situated with regard to this world's goods as to make it easy for them to take a long journey at this season, and live even for three days at the costly abodes into which the Gettysburg hotels managed to turn themselves for three days. If even one-half the number which was looked for had actually come, they would have had to live out in the fields and beg their bread in the streets. As a matter of fact, I think 2,000 or 3,000 Union veterans, and 200 or 300 Confederates made their appearance. Many more of the latter would undoubtedly have come if they had had notice or any reasonable expectation of finding board and lodging during their stay.

The author of the article went on to explain the need for a respectable guidebook for the battlefield as well as to describe the monumentation on the GBMA property. He noted:

To those who find their historic sense gratified or stimulated by the sight of fields on which great human controversies have been settled by the sword, the field of Gettysburg must for ever remain one of the most interesting spots in the world. What it needs now of all things is a respectable guide-book. The Century Co. has issued one by Gen. Doubleday – good as far it goes – but it is a mere military summary of the events of the three days. The others, which attempt to give detailed narratives, are beneath contempt. What with balderdash, cheap sentiment, and attempts at lurid description, they may fairly be called a discredit to the country. One of them seriously maintains that God Almighty created Little Round Top expressly to furnish a position in which Meade's army might save the Union. No stranger who took up this rubbish would suppose that the army which won the battle had stood higher in point of intelligence than say the world has seen except the German. . . .³⁹

Efforts were begun by the GBMA in 1888 to obtain the iron fence surrounding Lafayette Square in Washington, D.C., which the War Department was planning to remove. General Daniel E. Sickles, a congressman from New York and a director of the GBMA since 1887, supported the efforts of the GBMA, and a joint resolution to that effect was passed by Congress on October 12, 1888. The association accepted the fence, and on July 12, 1889, asked for bids for its erection around East Cemetery Hill. The contract for the work was awarded

39. E. L. G. , "The Gettysburg Celebration," *Nation*, XLVII (July 12, 1888), 27.

to Calvin Gilbert. The idea and the location of the fence provide insight into the landscape taste which prevailed at Gettysburg during the late nineteenth century.⁴⁰

Further development of the battlefield was undertaken in 1889. An avenue was laid out along the line of Gregg's cavalry division, a driveway was opened from Reynolds Avenue on the summit of Oak Ridge to the Mummasburg Road, and a 60-foot-wide roadway to the Custer cavalry brigade monument was developed. In compliance with the association's monument regulations it was determined to have the three Massachusetts regimental monuments erected in advanced positions at the "copse of trees" removed to their "proper positions" in line of battle and that of the 5th New York Cavalry relocated to its position in support of Elder's United States battery.

The GBMA board, recognizing the calls for marking the Confederate lines at Gettysburg as part of the national reconciliation effort, adopted a resolution to that effect on September 11, 1889. The resolution, a copy of which was sent to each member of Congress, stated:

That it is the sense of this Association that the Congress of the United States should authorize the purchase of such land as may be necessary to open avenues and driveways along the whole line of battle occupied by the Army of Northern Virginia during the battle of Gettysburg, and that the positions occupied by the several divisions, brigades, and regiments of such army should be marked with tablets.⁴¹

Following passage of this resolution John B. Bachelder became especially active in promoting the cause of marking the battle lines of the Army of Northern Virginia. In the fall of 1889 he sent a circular letter to members of Congress and a number of influential army veterans urging that Confederate lines be marked:

Because it is impossible for the tourist or student of history to acquire a correct understanding of the positions and movements of troops unless both sides are marked; and to determine the Confederate lines would increase the value of the Union monuments. . . .

No attempt has yet been made to mark the Confederate lines, and the visitor must depend entirely upon his imagination to locate them. Of the

40. U.S. Congress, Senate, Committee on Military Affairs, *In the Senate of the United States. . . . Report: [To Accompany S. Res. 10]*, 50th Cong., 1st Sess., 1888, S. Rept. 362, p. 1; U.S. Congress, House, Committee on Military Affairs, *Battle-Field of Gettysburg*, 50th Cong., 1st Sess., 1888, H. Rept. 1790, p. 1; and "Memorandum on the Iron Fence on East Cemetery Hill," Vertical Files, GNMP Library.

41. Vanderslice, *Gettysburg: A History of the Gettysburg Battle-Field Memorial Association*, pp. 246-47.

fourteen miles of battle lines of the Army of Northern Virginia, for the three days, not one road has been opened or marked! Shall this knowledge be preserved to history, or shall it be allowed to be lost forever? . . .⁴²

After receiving a favorable response to his circular letter Bachelder prepared a detailed plan for marking the Confederate lines which he again sent to members of Congress and influential army veterans on November 15, 1889. In the plan he described the Gettysburg battlefield as it was:

While it is but eight miles in a direct line from one extremity of that field to the other, the actual extent of the Union battle-lines for the three days, as they doubled and followed the various positions taken up aggregated 21 miles; and along these lines of battle strips of land, varying from 40 to 300 feet in width have been purchased, avenues opened, driveways constructed, and monuments and flank-stones erected. Parallel with these, but on the outer circle, and hence longer, were the Confederate lines, which aggregate 231 miles for the three days; *yet not one rod of these has been opened or marked!* Nor is there anything to show that the Union army with its avenues and monuments had an opponent at Gettysburg. Yet, if Congress desires that the Confederate positions be preserved, on that celebrated field, not by elaborate monuments, but by enduring historic tablets, the data exists for laying out the battle-lines and marking the continuous positions of troops upon them.

As an ornamental battlefield, Gettysburg has no equal in any country; but, as only the positions of *one* side are marked, it really possesses no *tactical* value whatever. Pleasure seekers will visit and enjoy that remarkable field as it is, but cultivated tourists and students of history will exclaim, "was there no opposing army at Gettysburg, where was the enemy?" With both sides marked, Gettysburg would be the most wonderful object-map in the world!

After describing in detail his proposed marking of the Confederate lines Bachelder concluded that implementation of such a plan would require construction of 23-3/8 miles of roadway, several important bridges, and a large number of culverts. Along these avenues there had been thirty-six Confederate

brigades of infantry, and four of cavalry, which should have for the three days 94 tablets bearing historic legends; 201 regiments requiring from one to three tablets each – 356. Sixty-five batteries requiring 131 tablets, – eight divisions and four corps, which would require thirty-two tablets to mark their flanks in

42. "Reasons Why the Lines of Battle of the Army of Northern Virginia at Gettysburg Should be Marked," [Fall, 1889], attached to *Gettysburg Battle-Field Memorial Association Announcement*, Department of Manuscripts, Huntington Library.

their several positions – aggregating at least 713 historical tablets, besides those required to mark avenues.⁴³

During 1890 the GBMA board authorized purchase of a "portion of the Peach Orchard required for the erection of the monuments of the several regiments engaged there." That same year a dispute between representatives of the 12th New Jersey and 111th New York regiments over the location of the monument of the latter on Hancock Avenue was mediated. This dispute was an example of the continuing conflict between war veterans over the difference between "line of battle" and "advanced positions."⁴⁴

The Gettysburg battlefield received national publicity on October 15, 1890, when Philippe Comte de Paris, in company with Generals John P. Gobin and Orland Smith, Major Generals O. O. Howard, Henry W. Slocum, and Abner Doubleday, and at least one representative from each corps in the Union army, toured the historic battleground. As a student of military history the Comte de Paris later noted:

The citizens of Gettysburg were right to appreciate the remarkable character of the visit which took place on the 15th of October, for I believe that there is not one of the innumerable battlefields of old Europe which has been revisited by such a number of the leaders of the victorious army, assembled on the same day to go together on the historical ground and combine their remembrances of a quarter of a century past, to enrich, if I can say so, their common fund of information.

Major General Doubleday also recorded his impressions of the occasion:

Not having been at Gettysburg for several years, I had formed the idea that it was covered with monumental abortions, and was agreeably surprised to see so many beautiful and attractive memorial structures. All over the wide fields marble soldiers are represented as kneeling, loading, and firing, and the effect is very striking and picturesque. . . . Gettysburg is now the Waterloo of our country, and deserves a visit from every tourist; not only on account of its historical associations, but as one of the art-centres of America.⁴⁵

43. [Bachelder] to _____, November 15, 1889, attached to *Gettysburg Battle-Field Memorial Association Announcement*, Department of Manuscripts, Huntington Library.

44. Vanderslice, *Gettysburg: A History of the Gettysburg Battle-Field Memorial Association*, pp. 248-50.

45. "Gettysburg Thirty Years After, By His Royal Highness the Count of Paris, Major-General O. O. Howard, Major-General Henry W. Slocum, and Major-General Abner Doubleday," *North American Review*, CLII (February, 1891), 129-47. The reference to a larger reunion was that of the 1869 officers' reunion.

The financial resources of the GBMA were in precarious condition by August 1891. Hence the board of directors appointed a committee, consisting of Generals Sickles, Barnum, and Wagner, Colonels Veazey, Briggs, and Bachelder, and Edward McPherson, to devise a plan for raising funds for the future maintenance of the battlefield. On May 10 of that same year a plan submitted by Bachelder for a "High-Water-Mark" tablet to be erected at the "copse of trees" was approved. The monument was later dedicated on June 2, 1892, with elaborate ceremonies attended by a number of high government officials and ranking military leaders.⁴⁶

During 1891-92 there were several instances which indicated that the pressures of development around Gettysburg were beginning to impinge on GBMA grounds. On August 25, 1891, the Gettysburg Electric Railway made its first formal request for rights-of-way along the avenues on the association's land – a request immediately rejected by the board. On January 5, 1892, the GBMA board filed a complaint when Round Top Park, adjoining the grounds of the association, was granted a license to sell intoxicating liquor.⁴⁷

During 1892 the GBMA developed preliminary plans to establish a museum in the structure that Meade had used as his headquarters. At the request of the association's directors Congress enacted legislation (27 Stat. 276) approved on July 27, 1892, authorizing the Secretary of War "to deliver to the Gettysburg Battlefield Memorial Association specimens of the arms, equipments, projectiles, uniforms, and other material of war used by the armies in that battle . . . for the purpose of exhibiting and preserving them for historical purposes in the museum at the house used by Major-General Meade for headquarters . . . or at such other place as the directors of the association may deem proper."⁴⁸

Despite the financial problems of the GBMA and the surrounding development pressures to its grounds, the work of the GBMA was receiving recognition by the early 1890s. One such publication that summarized and praised the accomplishments of the association was *The Two Great Armies at Gettysburg, Being Chapters I, II and III of Gettysburg and its*

46. Vanderslice, *Gettysburg: A History of the Gettysburg Battle-Field Memorial Association*, pp. 250-51, and *Gettysburg Times*, November 17, 1958, in Historical Files, Park Resource Preservation Branch, Office of Cultural Resources, Mid-Atlantic Regional Office, National Park Service, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania. Hereinafter, these files will be referred to as Historical Files, MARO-CM.

47. Vanderslice, *Gettysburg: A History of the Gettysburg Battle-Field Memorial Association*, pp. 251-52.

48. U.S. Congress, Senate, Committee on Military Affairs, *In the Senate of the United States . . . Report: [To Accompany S. 898]*, 52d Cong., 1st Sess., 1892, S. Rept. 589, pp. 1-2, and Edmund B. Rogers, comp., "History of Legislation Relating to the National Park System through the 82d Congress," 1958, XXXII, 10.

Monuments by J. Howard Wert. He observed that the GBMA had "done a noble work in preserving the essential landmarks of the great conflict." He stated further:

The Association has pressed steadily forward till it now controls for perpetual preservation all the prominent historic spots and great battle-centres of the field. . . .

As State after State and regiment after regiment went into the work of erecting monuments, beautiful in conception, artistic in design and priceless in historic value, other States and regiments and batteries were impelled to vie with their comrades in the work of decoration and designation. State and regimental pride was aroused to tell the world the story of the valor of the Army of the Potomac; so that now the battle-field of Gettysburg presents one continuous and unbroken chain of grandly executed works of art to perpetuate to unborn generations the positions of the three hundred and sixty organizations of the Union army that participated in a battle the most important on which the sun ever shone. By babbling streams and amidst waving grain and grassy mead, marble and granite and brass blazon forth the heroism and commemorate the deeds of those who fought and of those who fell for union firm and undissolved. . . .⁴⁹

49. J. Howard Wert, *The Two Great Armies at Gettysburg, Being Chapters I, II and III of Gettysburg and its Monuments* (Harrisburg, 1892), pp. 25-26, 29-30, 32.

CHAPTER V: ESTABLISHMENT OF GETTYSBURG NATIONAL MILITARY PARK: 1895

EFFORTS TOWARD FEDERAL REGULATION OF THE GETTYSBURG BATTLEFIELD

By 1890, with the help of many northern states, the GBMA had acquired several hundred acres of land on the battlefield, including areas in the vicinity of Spangler's Spring, the Wheatfield, Little Round Top, Wolf Hill, and the Peach Orchard, as well as the small white frame house General Meade had used as his headquarters. The association had also opened nearly twenty miles of roads along the Union lines of battle, and supervised the erection, by states and regiments, of more than three hundred monuments. Nearly \$1,000,000 was expended in this varied work – New York alone having appropriated \$300,000 and Pennsylvania \$200,000. The states of Maine, New Hampshire, Vermont, Massachusetts, Rhode Island, Connecticut, New Jersey, Delaware, Maryland, Ohio, Indiana, Michigan, and Minnesota had each "contributed liberally to illustrate and adorn this great battlefield of the Republic."

Despite the efforts of the GBMA at Gettysburg after 1863 two conspicuous omissions in the work of preservation and marking still remained by the late 1880s. First, work of the GBMA had been directed largely toward acquisition of key tracts of land occupied by the various state units along the Union lines and arranging for access to them and for erection of monuments and markers. This work was largely financed by appropriations from the various states. Funds were not available to acquire and mark locations occupied by the commands of the regular army engaged at Gettysburg. Second, the charter of the GBMA explicitly stated that the purpose of the association was only to commemorate and memorialize the Union defenders. Thus, none of the Southern states had participated in its work, and all that part of the battlefield on which the Army of Northern Virginia had formed its lines was still in private hands and unmarked, with the exception of the 2d Maryland Infantry Monument erected at Culp's Hill in 1886. The need existed for the impartial United States government to correct these deficiencies, and the establishment of Gettysburg National Military Park emerged as a result of congressional efforts during the years 1887-95.¹

1. Vanderslice, *Gettysburg: A History of the Gettysburg Battle-Field Memorial Association*, pp. 253-54; U.S. Congress, House, *Army Positions, Gettysburg: Letter from the Secretary of War, Referring to the Appropriation for Marking Positions Occupied by the Army at Gettysburg and Recommending that Authority be Granted to Purchase Land for that Purpose*, 50th Cong., 1st Sess., 1887, Ex. Doc. 25, p. 1; U.S. Congress, House, *Monuments or Tablets at Gettysburg: Letter from the Secretary of the Treasury, Transmitting An Estimate from the Secretary of War Providing for Monuments on Tablets at Gettysburgh*, 51st Cong., 1st Sess., 1890, Ex. Doc. 195, pp. 1-14; U.S. Congress, House, Committee on (continued...)

To acquire and mark the positions occupied by the Army of Northern Virginia, however, was a complex problem. Out of the effort to solve it grew a comprehensive plan for a Gettysburg national park embracing all the principal areas of the battlefield.

Representative Henry Harrison Bingham, a Pennsylvania congressman, who had served with the 140th Pennsylvania Volunteers during the Civil War, introduced the first bill (H.R. 4972) providing "for marking the lines of battle and the positions of troops of the Army of Northern Virginia at Gettysburg, Pennsylvania" on January 14, 1890. Members of the House Committee on Military Affairs, to which the bill had been referred, visited Gettysburg on May 30-31 for an extensive guided tour planned and led by John B. Bachelder.² After considering the bill, the committee, led by its chairman Byron M. Cutcheon of Michigan, a lawyer who had served with the Army of the Potomac during the Civil War, reported on August 27 its reservations and a substitute bill (H.R. 11868) that introduced the concept of a three-person commission to administer the battlefield:

It will be observed that the original bill contemplated the appropriation of a sum sufficient to complete the work at once of acquiring the land and opening about 24 miles of avenues, beside additional lands for the preservation of sites of historical interest, the building of bridges, culverts, fords, drive-ways, etc., and the erection of historical monuments and tablets to mark about 662 different positions of brigades, regiments, and battalions, without including positions of corps, divisions, or batteries; that this entire work was to be placed under the charge of, and the appropriation to be expended through, a single individual named in the bill, with no discretion left in any executive officer whatever, except that it was to be done "under the direction of Secretary of War."

Your committee has not considered it best to intrust so great a discretion to a single individual, however competent.

The committee is also of the opinion that the work necessary and desirable can be accomplished for much less than the sum called for in the original bill, and that this less sum may well be divided into two or even three or four appropriations as the work progresses. . . .

The substitute provides for three commissioners, each of whom shall have been participants in the battle of Gettysburgh, and one of whom shall have been an officer of the Army of Northern Virginia, which commissioners

1.(...continued)

the Library, *Monument at Gettysburgh, Pa.*, 51st Cong., 1st Sess., 1890, H. Rept. 2069, p. 1; and *Annual Report of the Secretary of War 1893*, I, 326.

2. John B. Bachelder, *Congressional Gettysburg Excursion: Itinerary* (Boston, [1890]), pp. 1-3. A copy of this document is on file at the Library of Congress.

shall have general charge of the work, shall decide on the lines to be marked, the avenues and drive-ways to be opened, the lands to be acquired, shall make and approve contracts, disburse the moneys appropriated, decide upon the material to be used for monuments and tablets and the inscriptions to be borne upon the same.

The committee concluded its report with the significant statement:

Again, if this work is to be done, it must be done by the Government. It is equally impracticable for either the Northern or the Southern States to undertake it, and it is too great a work for the memorial association to undertake, and foreign to the object of its organization. . . .

We have assurance that such an act would be not distasteful, but rather gratifying to the remnant of the Army of Northern Virginia, and what grander evidence of magnanimity and strength could the nation give than thus to preserve the historical data of the great turning battle of the war.³

Although legislation to authorize Chickamauga and Chattanooga National Park had passed Congress and been signed by President Benjamin Harrison only a few days before, the report of the Committee on Military Affairs did not meet with a favorable response by the full House. It is possible that a major unresolved problem was the relationship of the park project to the land already in possession of the GBMA.⁴

At this point Representative Oscar Lapham of Rhode Island, who had served in the Civil War as a captain in the Twelfth Rhode Island Volunteers, made another urgent attempt on behalf of the Committee on Military Affairs to get a bill through the House "for marking the lines of battle and positions of troops of the Army of Northern Virginia at Gettysburg, Pa., and for other purposes." He stated in part:

While so much has been done upon one side of this historical field, the lines upon the Confederate side are in danger of obliteration by the lapse of time and the inevitable changes wrought by an active people. It is stated to the committee that much of the ground occupied by the Army of Northern Virginia is in the hands of an association to be devoted to building lots, and that an electric railroad is to encircle the whole. Preparations are making to entertain the thousands who flock to Gettysburg, and the increasing numbers who are to be attracted there by the creation of a national resort.

3. U.S. Congress, House, Committee on Military Affairs, *Battle Lines At Gettysburgh*, 51st Cong., 1st Sess., 1890, H. Rept. 3024, pp. 1-6. Meanwhile, the Senate was considering similar legislation and passed S. 2188, a bill identical to H.R. 11868 on September 16. Rogers, "History of Legislation," XXXII, 8, and U.S. Congress, House, Committee on Military Affairs, *Battle Lines At Gettysburgh*, 51st Cong., 2d Sess., 1890, H. Rept. 3296, p. 1.

4. Georg, "Gettysburg – A Happy And Patriotic Conception," p. 5.

Included in the bill was a provision for establishment of a Gettysburg Battlefield Commission to administer the park. The commission was

to consist of three members, who shall be appointed by the Secretary of War, one of whom shall be a civilian who is recognized as the person best informed in the history of the battle, possessing the most thorough knowledge of the history of the battle, and who shall be chairman of the commission and its historian; one an officer of the Army of the Potomac who participated in the battle, and one an officer of the Army of Northern Virginia who participated in the battle. Said commission shall have a principal office in connection with the War Department in the city of Washington. The said chairman shall, as soon as possible after his appointment, compile historical maps showing not only the general lines of battle of the two armies, but approximately the successive tactical and strategic positions and evolutions of all bodies of troops taking part in said engagement, to the end that all the principal operations of batteries, regiments, brigades, divisions, and corps, and other organizations, when acting as such, respectively, may be represented upon said maps, and by means of which the said several positions and evolutions of said organizations may be marked upon the field, and for said special services in the preparation of said maps said historian shall be paid a reasonable compensation not exceeding the sum of twenty-five thousand dollars, to be fixed by the Secretary of War; the same to be paid in such installments according to the progress of the work, as may be determined upon between said historian and the Secretary of War.⁵

Nevertheless, this attempt also failed on the floor of the House.⁶

ESTABLISHMENT OF GETTYSBURG PARK COMMISSION

While the various congressional efforts were underway to bring the Gettysburg battlefield under federal control, Secretary of War Daniel S. Lamont appointed a three-man commission on May 25, 1893, to oversee the expenditure of \$25,000 of federal funds appropriated by Congress for the battlefield in the Sundry Civil Appropriation Act of March 3, 1893 (27 Stat. 599). Among other provisions the act provided:

Monuments and Tablets at Gettysburg. For the purpose of preserving the lines of battle at Gettysburg, Pa., and for properly marking with tablets the positions occupied by the various commands of the Armies of the Potomac and of Northern Virginia on that field, and for the opening and improving

5. U.S. Congress, House, Committee on Military Affairs, *Gettysburg Battlefield*, 52d Cong., 2d Sess., 1892, H. Rept. 2188, pp. 1, 3. The civilian who was obviously behind the wording of this bill was John B. Bachelder, who would later become one of the three commissioners.

6. Rogers, "History of Legislation," XXXII, 10.

avenues along the positions occupied by troops upon those lines, and for fencing the same, and for determining the leading tactical positions of batteries, regiments, brigades, divisions, corps and other organizations, with references to the study and correct understanding of the battle, and to mark the same with suitable tablets, each bearing a brief historical legend, compiled without praise and without censure, the sum of \$25,000 to be expended under the direction of the Secretary of War.

The three men appointed to the commission were Colonel John P. Nicholson, Brigadier General W. H. Forney, and John B. Bachelder. Nicholson, a life-long resident of Philadelphia, had served with the 28th Pennsylvania Infantry during the Civil War and had been in the advance line of the 28th, 1st Brigade, 2d Division, 12th Corps, on Culp's Hill in the second day's fight at Gettysburg. He was head of the influential Military Order of the Loyal Legion of the United States, and was a member of the State Monument Commission. Forney had served with the 10th Alabama Infantry during the Battle of Gettysburg, and Bachelder's contributions to the battlefield since the battle have already been described. Although Forney never made substantial contributions to the commission because of ill health, Nicholson would play a significant role in the further development of the battlefield, building on the contributions made by Bachelder during the preceding thirty years.⁷

Prior to the first meeting of the commission on May 31, 1893, Secretary of War Lamont issued orders and a list of instructions to the commissioners. The order, dated May 25, read:

Colonel John P. Nicholson of Pennsylvania; Colonel John B. Bachelder of Massachusetts, and General William H. Forney of Alabama are appointed a Commission under the authority given by Act of Congress approved March 3, 1893, and they are directed to take such immediate steps as the laws permit to preserve the lines of battle at Gettysburg, Pennsylvania, and to report to the Secretary of War on or before July 20th, next, a definite plan for executing within the limits of the appropriation, the further provisions of that law relative to the Gettysburg Battle-field.

Until otherwise ordered the compensation of the Commissioners is fixed at ten dollars per day, each, when actually employed, and travelling expenses.

On May 29 Lamont followed up the order with instructions to the commissioners:

7. Georg, "Gettysburg – A Happy and Patriotic Conception," p. 6. For further data on the life of John P. Nicholson, see Military Order of the Loyal Legion of the United States, Commandery of the State of Pennsylvania, *In Memoriam, John Page Nicholson, Brevet Lieut. Colonel U S. Volunteers*, Died at Philadelphia, Pa., March 8, 1922, War Department Records, RG 79.

Since by the terms of the act making provision for the preservation of the features of the Gettysburg battlefield the work is to be done under the direction of the Secretary of War, I have to suggest that the Commission, at its meeting on Wednesday the 31st instant, should organize by the election of a President, who shall be its principal executive officer, not only in its recommendations and communications to the Department, but also in its business transactions and dealings with the public. In addition to this he should approve all vouchers for expenditures which are submitted to the Department for payment.

It is my judgment that the Commission should establish its principal office at Gettysburg, and that it should transact its business at that point. To that end you are hereby authorized to hire suitable office rooms in the town of Gettysburg, the lease of which shall become effective from July 1st, proximo. As it is probable that you will find some clerical and technical assistance necessary in the prosecution of your work, you will please submit such recommendations in reference thereto as you may find necessary in the public interests. Authority is hereby granted for the purchase of office furniture not exceeding \$250. in cost, and for the purchase in open market of such instruments and surveying materials as may be necessary for the preliminary location of the lines of battle. You are also authorized to procure from the Supply Division of the War Department and from the Government Printing Office on proper requisition such stationery and blank forms as may be necessary for official purposes.

As to the general policy of the Commission I have to request that its immediate work shall be directed to the preservation of the lines and evidences of battle, and that no plan shall be entered upon involving the outlay of money which would in its execution exceed the limits of the present appropriation. I believe that the practice hitherto pursued by the Battlefield Memorial Association of purchasing strips and small parcels of land rather than large areas should continue to prevail unless Congress otherwise directs.

In view of the fact that the positions of the various organizations of the Union and Confederate Armies have already been determined with substantial accuracy, it is not believed that many questions will arise as to which there is likely to be serious difference of opinion. Should differences arise, however, in regard to the acquisition or ownership of land, the position of troops, or any other subject of importance, it is my desire that they be so carefully and exhaustively considered, from all points of view, as to result in a unanimous recommendation on the part of the Commission. . . .

In conclusion, I venture to express the hope that the work entrusted to your hands will be brought to an early and satisfactory conclusion, and that the lines occupied by both armies in that battle will be so permanently marked as to enable the important and decisive operations conducted there to be clearly seen and understood, and the field preserved in all its essential features.

Thus, Lamont's instructions about complete and adequate marking and preservation of essential features of the field demonstrate that those two were the most important reasons for the park.⁸

The commissioners met for the first time on May 31, 1893, and during the next 5½ months they oversaw considerable activity at Gettysburg. Brevet Lieutenant Colonel Emmor B. Cope was selected as topographical engineer by the commission on July 1. Cope, who would play a major role in the development of the battlefield during the next three decades, had served with the 1st Pennsylvania Reserve Infantry during the war and had been a topographer at Meade's headquarters at Gettysburg. After the battle Meade had detailed him to make the first survey and map of the field in October 1863.⁹

After selecting Cope and his assistants, the commission rented a room in Gettysburg from which to conduct its business. On November 16 the commissioners issued their first formal report of the progress at Gettysburg:

The first work was to establish a meridian, which in all the surveys since the war had never been done. The datum point of reference was the center of the square in the town of Gettysburg, and a meridian line was established on the high ground of the Gettysburg Battlefield Memorial Association, near Hancock avenue. . . .

Twenty-seven miles of public roads have been run and a preliminary survey of 20 miles of avenues and proposed avenues was made, and 21 miles of property lines. As the work of constructing the avenues progresses other surveys will be necessary. The work has been plotted on a scale of 1 inch to 500 feet and reduced to one-half that size. Part of the work has been enlarged to 1 inch to 400 feet, and also 1 inch to 200 feet, which is the scale of the large Warren map, 12 feet square.

A large portion of the work has been traced and blue printed.

The commission has not thought it wise to open avenues until such times as land can be purchased at reasonable prices. This, it is believed, may be accomplished by watching the opportunity to buy odd lots which will be needed in open market at popular rates, by which plan the commission will

8. War Department, Office of the Secretary, Washington, May 25, 1893, Order No. —, Daniel S. Lamont, Secretary of War, and Lamont to Nicholson, Gettysburg Battlefield Commission, May 29, 1893, in John P. Nicholson Journal, 1893, GNMP Library.

9. Robert Bruce, *Gettysburg: A Survey, From the Standpoints of Topography and the Highways* (Washington, 1920), p. 25.

not only secure lands desired, but a precedent will be established for the use of the court should the necessity for condemnation proceedings arise.¹⁰

The work of the commission continued in earnest during 1894. On November 12 of that year the commission reported:

The work of the engineer department of the commission has been performed with great fidelity under the guidance of Bvt. Lieut. Col. E. B. Cope and Mr. S. A. Hammond, his able assistant, and includes a large amount of surveying and mapping of tracts of land for avenues, laying out, leveling, cross-sectioning, preparing maps and specifications of the avenues proposed and projected and sections of avenues for the use of contractors.

Attention has been given to surveys to harmonize conflicting property lines where the property bounded by one or more of such lines was about to be purchased for the United States; also careful surveys and maps of the present loop of the Gettysburg Electric Railroad have been prepared for the use of the Government.

A scheme for the complete and exhaustive topographical study of the field was begun last year and has been kept in view and continued whenever time and opportunity afforded, as follows: To make an accurate and complete instrumental survey of the entire battlefield, and to make it on a scale of 200 feet to the inch, consisting of 25 sheets, 27 by 28½ inches, each representing a square of the field 5,400 feet wide east and west and 5,660 feet north and south.

This map is intended to show the streams, roads, buildings of every description, monuments and markers, avenues, timber, earthworks, stone walls, fence lines, and rocks; all the undulations will be shown by contour lines for every 4 feet difference of level. Much of this work actually done will appear by implication. Surveys have already been finished for three sheets. The proper mapping of the balance of the field work will engage the attention of the corps during the inclement winter weather. The office has also included besides original work copies of the large Warren map. During the past year a number of positions of troops have been marked by visitors to the field who were soldiers and took part in the battle, and where these positions were reliable they were located upon our base map. . . .¹¹

10. "Annual Report of the Gettysburg National Military Park Commission to the Secretary of War, 1893," pp. 7, 9-10, in U.S. Congress, House, *Annual Reports of the Gettysburg National Military Park Commission to the Secretary of War: 1893-1904*, 58th Cong., 3d Sess., 1905, H. Doc. 414. Also see Cope's Report-1893, GNMP Library.

11. "Annual Report of the Gettysburg National Military Park Commission to the Secretary of War, 1894," pp. 13-15, in *Annual Reports of the Gettysburg National Military Park Commission ... 1893-1904*. Also see Cope's Report-1894, GNMP Library.

GETTYSBURG ELECTRIC RAILROAD CASE

One of the first problems encountered by the new commission was the construction plans of the Gettysburg Electric Railway Company. Incorporated on July 28, 1891, the company had begun construction of its rail lines through sections of the battlefield including the Loop, Devil's Den, Valley of Death, and Cemetery Ridge. By 1893 the company was busily engaged in constructing a trolley line to penetrate deep into the battlefield to one of its important features, the rocky outcrop heavily defended by Union soldiers known as Devil's Den. The intrusion of the railroad through such areas of the battlefield as the Loop and Valley of Death and the real estate developments that were expected to accompany its completion aroused deep concern among the commission members. "Upon organization" on May 31, 1893, as Chairman Nicholson reported later, "the commission found important lines of battle occupied by an electric railway, the construction of which had begun early in April 1893."¹² The commission's responsibility to mark battle positions would be impeded by the construction of the railway over a line of battle which it had proposed to delineate with markers and avenues. Secretary of War Lamont, gave his full support to the commission's efforts "to remove the electric road from the occupation of the prominent parts of the battlefield."¹³ To make clear the national intent in the matter, Congress adopted a joint resolution (28 Stat. 584) on June 5, 1894, which stated there was "imminent danger that portions of said battlefield may be irreparably defaced by the construction of a railway over the same." The resolution stated further that

the Secretary of War is authorized to acquire by purchase (or by condemnation) pursuant to the Act of August first, eighteen hundred and eighty eight, such lands or interests in lands, upon, or in the vicinity of said battle field, as, in the judgment of the Secretary of War, may be necessary for the complete execution of the Act of March third, eighteen hundred and ninety three: *Provided*, That no obligation or liability upon the part of the Government shall be incurred under this Resolution nor any expenditure made except out

12. "Annual Report of the Gettysburg National Military Park Commission to the Secretary of War, 1893," p. 1, in *Annual Reports of the Gettysburg National Military Park Commission . . . 1893-1904*. Also see Frederick Tilberg, "The Gettysburg Electric Railway Company," [ca. 1944], Vertical Files, Gettysburg Battlefield Trolley, GNMP Library. The commission's only real power rested in the law charging them with marking lines of battle. Thus, it later contended that the route of the railway was squarely over a line of battle which was to be marked by the government.

13. "Annual Report of the Gettysburg National Military Park Commission to the Secretary of War, 1893," p. 10, in *Annual Reports of the Gettysburg National Military Park Commission . . . 1893-1904*. In July 1893 Secretary Lamont obtained the opinion of Acting Attorney General Lawrence Maxwell, Jr., that the commission was within its jurisdiction to apply for an injunction to prevent further construction by the railway and to institute condemnation proceedings. The U.S. District Court in Pennsylvania, however, ruled that the park commission did not have distinct authority to acquire land to mark these battle positions. It was because of this judicial ruling that separate legislation was sought to specifically authorize the acquisition of lands and interests in lands for the execution of the Act of March 3, 1893, that created the park commission.

of the appropriations already made and to be made during the present session of this Congress.

Although finally agreeing to halt construction of the tracks, the company refused to negotiate the sale of the land involved. On June 8, 1894, upon recommendation of the commission and with the approval of the Secretary of War, the Attorney General of the United States instituted condemnation proceedings. When the court eventually handed down an award of \$30,000 in November, attorneys for the company rejected the finding and filed exceptions, claiming that "preserving lines of battle" and "properly marking with tablets the positions occupied" were not public uses which permitted the condemnation of private property by the United States. The commissioners filed a counter-appeal "upon the ground that the damages are excessive and detrimental to the best interests of the United States."¹⁴

In April 1895 a decision was handed down in the case by the United States Circuit Court, Eastern District of Pennsylvania, in favor of the Gettysburg Electric Railroad. The decision was based on the premise that the intended use of the land was not that kind of a public use for which the United States had the constitutional power to condemn land. One of the judges dissented, however, stating that the use was public and that the United States had the power to condemn land for that purpose.¹⁵

The case was appealed to the United States Supreme Court and on January 27, 1896, Justice Rufus W. Peckham, delivering the first decision in his fourteen-year career on that tribunal, handed down the court's unanimous ruling. The decision, which overturned the earlier ruling of the United States Circuit Court, stated in part:

The end to be attained, by this proposed use, as provided for by the act of Congress, is legitimate, and lies within the scope of the constitution. The battle of Gettysburg was one of the great battles of the world. The numbers contained in the opposing armies were great; the sacrifices of life was dreadful; while the bravery, and, indeed, heroism displayed by both contending forces, rank with the highest exhibition of these qualities ever made by man. The importance of the issue involved in the contest of which this great battle was a part cannot be overestimated. The existence of the government itself, and the perpetuity of our institutions depended upon the result. Can it be that the government is without power to preserve the land, and properly mark out the various sites upon which this struggle took place? Can it not erect the

14. "Annual Report of the Gettysburg National Military Park Commission to the Secretary of War, 1894," p. 15, in *Annual Reports of the Gettysburg National Military Park Commission . . . 1893-1904*, and *United States v. Gettysburg Electric Ry. Co.*, 160 U.S. 668 (1896).

15. *United States v. Gettysburg Electric Ry. Co.*, 160 U.S. 668 (1896), and *Philadelphia Press*, April 24, 1895, and *Philadelphia Times*, April 26, 1895, in *United States vs. Gettysburg Electric R. R.*, I, GNMP Library.

monuments provided for by these acts of Congress, or even take possession of the field of battle, in the name and for the benefit of all the citizens of the country, for the present and for the future? Such a use seems necessarily not only a public use, but one so closely connected with the welfare of the republic itself as to be within the powers granted Congress by the constitution for the purpose of protecting and preserving the whole country.¹⁶

In essence, this landmark case affirmed the constitutionality of acquiring private property by right of eminent domain for Gettysburg National Park, which had been established on February 11, 1895. It established the principle that the preservation of nationally significant historic sites and buildings is a legitimate purpose of the federal government. Hence the decision was not only important in stopping construction of the railway intrusion on the Gettysburg battlefield, but was an early component of historic preservation law in the United States.¹⁷

ESTABLISHMENT OF GETTYSBURG NATIONAL MILITARY PARK

In the intervening years between the initiation of legal action condemning the railway and the court decision on January 27, 1896, legislation was passed by Congress establishing Gettysburg National Park, thus assuring preservation of the battlefield by the federal government. The bill (H.R. 8096) "to establish a National Military Park at Gettysburg, Pennsylvania" was introduced by Representative Daniel E. Sickles of New York on December 6, 1894, and on February 11, 1895, an amended bill (H.R. 8253) was signed into law by President Grover Cleveland.¹⁸

When the Civil War commenced Sickles, who had served in Congress from 1857 to 1861, volunteered immediately and quickly became a colonel, a brigadier-general, and around July 1, 1863, a major-general commanding the 3rd Corps (except for Humphreys). He fought in the Peninsular and Chancellorsville campaigns and arrived at Gettysburg during the second day's fighting. Struck by a shell, he lost his right leg by amputation that night. In the aftermath of the war he continued to have an interest in memorializing and preserving Civil

16. *United States v. Gettysburg Electric Ry. Co.*, 160 U.S. 668 (1896).

17. Lee, "Origin and Evolution of the National Military Park Idea," p. 15. More than 21 years later on May 12, 1917, Congress passed legislation authorizing the Secretary of War to purchase the right-of-way of the Gettysburg Railway Company for the park.

18. Earlier on October 3, 1894, the GBMA had endorsed the transfer of its property and assets to the federal government.

War battlefields, serving from 1886 to 1912 as chairman of the New York State Monuments Commission, which placed monuments on Civil War battlefields, and as a member of the board of directors of the GBMA beginning in 1892. It was during his term on the GBMA board that he was elected to a final term in Congress (1893-95) and became a member of the House Committee on Military Affairs.¹⁹

The Sickles bill went through the legislative process quickly, encountering few obstacles. After Sickles introduced H.R. 8096 it was referred to the House Committee on Military Affairs of which he was a member. On December 18, 1894, Sickles, speaking for the committee, issued a report recommending passage of a substitute bill (H.R. 8253).²⁰ The proposed legislation was first discussed on the House floor on January 16, 1895, but debate was postponed because the sundry appropriations act then before Congress contained provisions relating to Gettysburg, making it necessary for the Committees on Appropriations and Military Affairs and the War Department to come to "a thorough understanding, so that there may be no conflict between this [the Sickles] bill and the provisions of the sundry civil bill."²¹ Following a meeting involving representatives of the two committees and the War Department, Sickles introduced an amended bill on the House floor on January 22, the new bill merely reflecting "technical" changes.²² The amended bill was passed without debate and sent to the Senate.²³

The bill (H.R. 8253) also received quick and cursory treatment in the Senate. On January 24 it was referred to the Senate Committee on Military Affairs, and on February 1 it was reported out of the committee without amendment. The bill was considered on the Senate floor on February 4 and was passed without debate on amendment. The bill was signed into law (28 Stat. 651) by President Grover Cleveland on February 11.²⁴

19. Lee, "Origin and Evolution of the National Military Park Idea," p. 26; Vanderslice, *Gettysburg: A History of the Gettysburg Battle-Field Memorial Association*, pp. 150-51; and *Dictionary of American Biography*, IX, 150-51.

20. U.S. Congress, House, Committee on Military Affairs, *National Military Park At Gettysburg, Pa.*, 53d Cong., 3d Sess., 1894, H. Rept. 1517, p. 1.

21. *Congressional Record*, January 16, 1895, pp. 1093-94, in *Congressional Proceedings Relating to GNMP*, GNMP Library.

22. *Congressional Record*, January 22, 1895, in *Congressional Proceedings Relating to GNMP*, GNMP Library.

23. *Ibid.*

24. Rogers, "History of Legislation," XXXII, 12, and *Congressional Record*, February 4, 11, 1895, in *Congressional Proceedings Relating to GNMP*, GNMP Library. A copy of 28 Stat. 651 may be seen in Appendix M.

The act establishing Gettysburg National Park authorized the Secretary of War to accept from the GBMA a deed of conveyance to approximately 800 acres (in reality there were only some 522 acres) of land with all improvements and rights of access. The secretary was authorized to pay the existing debts of the association which totaled nearly \$2,000. Since Secretary of War Lamont had already appointed a three-member Gettysburg Park Commission in 1893, the act recognized that the park should be placed in its charge. The duties of the commissioners, who were to have an office at Gettysburg and receive "reasonable and just" compensation, were

to superintend the opening of such additional roads as may be necessary for the purposes of the park and for the improvement of the avenues heretofore laid out therein, and to properly mark the boundaries of the said park, and to ascertain and definitely mark the lines of battle of all troops engaged in the battle of Gettysburg, so far as the same shall fall within the limits of the park.

The secretary was also authorized to acquire

such lands in the vicinity of Gettysburg, Pennsylvania, not exceeding in area the parcels shown on the map prepared by Major-General Daniel E. Sickles, United States Army, and now on file in the office of the Secretary of War, which were occupied by the infantry, cavalry and artillery on the first, second and third days of July, eighteen hundred and sixty-three, and such other adjacent lands as he may deem necessary to preserve the important topographical features of the battlefield: *Provided*, That nothing contained in this Act shall be deemed and held to prejudice the rights acquired by any State or by any military organization to the ground on which its monuments or markers are placed, nor the right of way to the same. (A copy of this map may be seen on the following page.)

The additional lands were to be acquired by purchase or condemnation proceedings

to be taken by the Attorney-General in behalf of the United States, in any case in which it shall be ascertained that the same can not be purchased at prices deemed reasonable and just by the said commissioners and approved by the Secretary of War. And such condemnation proceedings may be taken pursuant to the Act of Congress approved August first, eighteen hundred and eighty-eight, regulating the condemnation of land for public uses, or the Joint Resolution authorizing the purchase or condemnation of land in the vicinity of Gettysburg, Pennsylvania, approved June fifth, eighteen hundred and ninety-four.

The secretary was authorized to establish and enforce regulations for the "custody, preservation, and care" of the monuments in the park as well as visitor access to them. Penalties for destroying, defacing, or injuring the monuments and historic battlefield resources, hunting, and timber-cutting were set at between \$5 and \$500, one-half of those



sums to go for the care of the park and one-half to go to the informer whose information led to the arrest of the guilty party. A bronze tablet containing the Gettysburg Address and a medallion likeness of Abraham Lincoln were to be erected in the park at a cost not to exceed \$5,000. The act included an appropriation of \$75,000 to carry out its provisions.

The significance of the act establishing Gettysburg National Park, as well as legislation establishing other national military parks, has been assessed by various historians. Some years later Lieutenant Colonel C. A. Bach, Chief, Historical Section, Army War College, commented on the significance of legislation establishing national military parks at Chickamauga and Chattanooga (April 19, 1890), Gettysburg (February 11, 1895), and Shiloh (December 27, 1894). He stated:

It will be seen from the above that these three military parks were designed by Congress not only to preserve for historical and professional study the battle fields themselves, but also to serve as lasting memorials to the great armies of the war. The field of Gettysburg was to be a memorial to the Union Army of the Potomac as well as the Confederate Army of northern Virginia; the field of Chickamauga, a memorial to the Union Army of the Cumberland and the Confederate Army of Tennessee, and the field of Shiloh a memorial to the Union Army of the Tennessee and the Confederate armies which, under various designations, opposed it in western Tennessee and in Mississippi.²⁵

In his well-known study on *The Origin and Evolution of the National Military Park Idea*, Ronald F. Lee summarized the significance of the first four national military parks (Chickamauga and Chattanooga, Gettysburg, Shiloh, and Antietam) for the development of national historic preservation policies. He observed:

For the first time, Congress approved the acquisition of nationally significant historic property from private owners, using Federal funds and if necessary, the power of eminent domain. . . . Furthermore, the power of Congress to enact such historic preservation laws was unequivocally upheld by the U.S. Supreme Court.

A policy was established of preserving the battlefields as nearly as possible in their condition at the time of the battle. This policy was implemented in part by continuing the historic farmhouses and fields in use for agricultural purposes, thus adding life to the scene, and at the same time reducing the costs of maintenance. The far-sighted practice of purchase and lease-back with preservation conditions was adopted as a tool of land management.

25. Bach to Commandant, The Army War College, May 28, 1925, in U.S. Congress, House, Committee on Military Affairs, *Study and Investigation of Battle Fields in the United States for Commemorative Purposes*, 69th Cong., 1st Sess, 1926, H. Rept. 1071, p. 2.

Congress recognized that specialized knowledge was required to ascertain, mark, and preserve the main lines of battle and the cultural features of the terrain. The solution adopted was to establish a three-man park commission for each area under the supervision of the Secretary of War, consisting of actual participants in the battle; of course, they were not professional historians. To help insure impartiality and to promote reunion of the sections, two members were appointed from among Union Army participants and one from the Confederate Army. The War Department provided historical assistance from the professional ranks of the military. No attempt was made, however, to establish a central historic preservation agency for the Federal Government, even for national military parks.

Lastly, States were expected to share the costs of preservation, marking and monumentation. The Federal Government undertook to acquire the land, ascertain the lines of battle, provide access roads, place markers on positions occupied by the Regular Army, and preserve the battlefield. The States were to mark and monument the positions of their troops, usually at a cost which represented a major part of the investment in park development. Both the Regular Army and the National Guard from the various States were allowed to use the complete national military park as a training and maneuvering ground.²⁶

Following passage of the establishing act the GBMA board took action to close down its operations. In March a letter was sent to the stockholders stating:

The work of this Association as outlined in its charter has been substantially finished. The Union lines of battle have been purchased and made accessible by avenues which reach every important historical point. Upon these avenues over 400 tasteful monuments have been erected by the States which had troops in the battle. The Association has obtained title to nearly 800 acres of land and has laid out twenty odd miles of avenues.

The work of the future will be chiefly maintenance and adornment. The Association is without means to do either. For the last two years the necessary expenses of maintenance have been met by appropriations from the State of Pennsylvania. . . .

The Board of Directors at the annual meeting in September last, unanimously approved of this projected legislation, and the Executive Committee of the Board have unanimously approved the terms of the act as passed, and urgently request the stockholders to consent to the conveyance proposed.

26. Lee, *Origin and Evolution of the National Military Park Idea*, pp. 36-37.

At a meeting of the stockholders on May 22 consent was formally given to the conveyance of GBMA lands to the United States.²⁷

In a memorial history commissioned by the GBMA in 1895 Vanderslice stated that the association had received \$106,575.59 between 1864 and 1895. These funds had been received from the following sources:

From the sale of certificates of stock	\$ 9,875.59
From various States by appropriation	96,490.00
From the officers and men at Fort Snelling	125.00
From the survivors of Cushing's battery	25.00
From the 2d Maryland Confederate Infantry	60.00
Making a total of	\$106,575.59

Vanderslice continued:

All of this sum was expended in the purchase, restoration, improvement, and maintenance of the grounds. Less than \$10,000 was spent in salaries and like expenses; the only salary being that of \$1000 per annum for the last few years to the Superintendent, and the salary of \$100 per annum to the secretary, except for three years when he received \$400 per annum. . . .

The visitor to the field is impressed by the originality, uniqueness, and suggestiveness of many of these memorials, nearly all of which are of granite and bronze, and notwithstanding the large number of monuments, there are only four or five instances of duplication of style.

It should be borne in mind that, in addition to the aid received from the several States in appropriations for the erection of monuments, the Survivors' Associations of many of the regiments supplemented by liberal contributions the amount appropriated, and there are a large number of regimental monuments upon the field costing from three thousand to five thousand dollars each, and several costing much more.²⁸

27. GBMA Minutes, May 22, 1895, in Minutes of the GBMA, 1872-1895, GNMP Library, and Vanderslice, *Gettysburg Then and Now*, pp. 388, 391.

28. Vanderslice, *Gettysburg: A History of the Gettysburg Battle-Field Memorial Association*, pp. 261-62.

A deed formally transferring the GBMA property, consisting of 124 tracts, to the United States was executed on February 4, 1896. The association's debts totaling \$1,960.46 were paid as the cost of the transfer. The deed was recorded in Adams County on June 25.²⁹

EARLY LEGISLATION CLARIFYING AND SUPPLEMENTING ACT ESTABLISHING GETTYSBURG NATIONAL MILITARY PARK

During the years 1895-97 several congressional acts clarified and supplemented the legislation establishing Gettysburg National Park. On June 10, 1896, the establishing legislation was amended by Congress (29 Stat. 384). The act authorized the Secretary of War to acquire

at such times and in such manner as he may deem best calculated to serve the public interest, such lands in the vicinity of Gettysburg, Pennsylvania, not exceeding in area the parcels shown on the map prepared by Major-General Daniel E. Sickles, United States Army, and now on file in the office of the Secretary of War . . . and such other adjacent lands as he may deem necessary to preserve the important topographical features of the battlefield, and in his discretion to improve and maintain the public roads within the limits of said park, jurisdiction over which has been or may hereafter be ceded to the United States. . . .

The secretary was directed to lay out other roads that were necessary for visitor access to the monuments on the battlefield. The reason for amending Section 4 of the establishing act was explained in a letter from the Gettysburg commissioners to the Secretary of War on February 19, 1896:

The legislature of Pennsylvania at its last session ceded [on June 26, 1895] to the United States jurisdiction and control of those parts of the principal public roads which are within the limits of the Gettysburg National Park, as established by act of Congress February 11, 1895. This action of Pennsylvania was prompted by her thorough sympathy with the patriotic purposes of the National Government with regard to the battlefield of Gettysburg, and the object was to give to the United States the right to improve such public roads within the park and maintain them in a condition of excellence (which they sorely lack now) necessary for the convenience and comfortable accommodation of visitors there, and worthy of that monumental field.

29. Deed, Gettysburg Battlefield Memorial Association to United States of America, February 4, 1896, Adams County Deed Book XX, Folio 149, Adams County Land Records, Gettysburg, Pennsylvania (copy of deed on file in GNMP Library).

Inasmuch as there is in those, as in all public roads, an easement to which the general public is entitled, and as the adjacent land owners are seized of a qualified fee in the roadbeds subject to that easement, the Honorable Secretary of War can not acquire for the United States absolute title in fee simple to said roads and roadbeds as he may do in his discretion, under the national park act, with regard to other lands within the limits of the park. But if the Honorable Secretary be empowered, by amendment of the national-park act, to improve and maintain these roads, thus keeping them up in perpetuo as public roads, the United States will thereby secure possession of them forever for all the uses of the national park and greatly to its benefit, and such perpetual possession will be to all intents and purposes as good and useful as title in fee simple would be. . . .³⁰

As a result of the June 26, 1895, commonwealth legislation portions of fourteen roads were ceded by Pennsylvania to the United States. These were:

Carlisle Road,	5600 feet
Newville Road,	2400 "
Harrisburg Road,	5250 "
Hunterstown Road,	3690 "
Hanover Road,	5700 "
Taneytown Road,	9400 "
Granite School H. Lane	4300 "
Wheatfield Road,	8550 "
Emmitsburg Road,	7800 "
(From Wheatfield Road to S. Confederate)	
Hagerstown Road,	6200 feet
Hereter's Mill Road	4000 "
Herr's Ridge Road,	2000 "
Mummasburg Road,	6300 "
Doubleday Avenue and Extension	3800 " ³¹

30. U.S. Congress, House, *National Park At Gettysburg, Pa., Letter from the Secretary of War, Transmitting A Copy of a Letter from the Gettysburg National Park Commission, together with a copy of a proposed amendment of section 4 of an act entitled "An act to establish a national park at Gettysburg, Pa., 54th cong., 1st Sess., 1896, H. Doc. 275, pp. 1-2.* Also see U.S. Congress, Senate, Committee on Military Affairs, *In the Senate of the United States, 54th Cong., 1st Sess., 1896, S. Rept. 527, pp. 1-2*; U.S. Congress, House, Committee on Military Affairs, *National Park At Gettysburg, Pa., 54th Cong., 1st Sess., 1896, H. Rept. 1398, pp. 1-2*; *Congressional Record*, April 8, 29, May 5, June 10-11, 1896, in Congressional Proceedings Relating to GNMP, GNMP Library; Rogers, "History of Legislation," XXXII, 13; and U.S. Army, Office of the Judge Advocate General, *United States Military Reservations, National Cemeteries, and Military Parks: Title, Jurisdiction, Etc.* (Washington, 1916), pp. 324-25.

31. Tilberg to Director, September 21, 1938, Vertical Files, Roads, Avenues, & Right-of-Ways, GNMP Library. Later in 1907 Pennsylvania ceded to the United States that section of the Emmitsburg Road extending from Wheatfield Road to the borough limits of Gettysburg, a distance of 8,263 feet. The significance of the commonwealth law ceding jurisdiction and maintenance of the various roads lies in its relation to the interpretation of the "limits of the park." The length of the state roads conforms exactly to the limits as shown in the boundary on the Sickles map.

On May 15, 1896, several weeks prior to passage of the amending legislation, a law (29 Stat. 120) was approved providing for use of the national military parks for military maneuvers and instructional camps by the U.S. Army and the National Guard. In recommending passage of the bill the Senate Committee on Military Affairs observed on March 19, 1896:

Your committee are strongly impressed by the remarkable advantages for military study afforded by these extensive battlefields, but there are others which, while not so extensive nor combining such a diversity of topographical features, may yet be useful for the purposes contemplated, especially as it is intended to embrace the National Guard of the several States in the practical instruction to be given and thus raise the military standing of the guard and make of it an efficient national body which in time of war may act in full accord with the War Department and the forces of the Regular Army. . . .

The Government ownership at Gettysburg and Shiloh is sufficient to afford ample camping ground for large bodies of troops and full opportunities for exhaustive studies of those important battles. The field of Gettysburg especially is of such open character as to render the details of the great battle, vast as were its movements, easily understood.³²

Congress took further steps in 1897 to provide for protection of the recently established national military parks at Chickamauga and Chattanooga, Shiloh, and Gettysburg. The act, entitled "An act to prevent trespassing upon and providing for the protection of National Military Parks," was approved on March 3. The act provided:

That every person who wilfully destroys mutilates defaces injures or removes any monument statue marker guide-post or other structure or who wilfully destroys cuts breaks injures or removes any tree shrub or plant within the limits of any National Park shall be deemed guilty of a misdemeanor punishable by a fine of not less than ten dollars nor more than one thousand dollars for such monument statue marker guide-post or other structure tree shrub or plant destroyed defaced injured cut or removed or by imprisonment for not less than fifteen days and not more than one year or by both fine and imprisonment.

32. U.S. Congress, Senate, Committee on Military Affairs, *In the Senate of the United States*, 54th Cong., 1st Sess., 1876, S. Rept. 526, p. 2.

Other provisions of the law prohibited hunting, outlined arrest procedures, designated United States officials with jurisdiction over parties committing misdemeanors, and delineated the process for terminating leases of land.³³

Congress took further action to provide for maintenance of the park at Gettysburg on June 4, 1897 (30 Stat. 44). In a sundry civil appropriations bill for fiscal year 1898 a clause in the section relating to Gettysburg stated:

And the Secretary of War may lease the lands of the Park at his discretion either to former owners or other persons for agricultural purposes, the *proceeds* to be applied by the Secretary of War through the proper disbursing officer, to the maintenance of the Park.

This act began the practice that continued for some forty years whereby agricultural land in the park was rented to local farmers with the proceeds going to defray some of the park's operating costs. This authority was repealed by the Appropriation Act of 1936, but at some subsequent time was reinstated.

FIRST REGULATIONS FOR OPERATION OF PARK

As provided in the establishing act the Secretary of War was authorized to establish regulations to govern the operation of Gettysburg National Park. Accordingly, the commissioners drew up eleven rules which were approved by Secretary Lamont in 1895. The regulations read:

- I Employees of the Commission must be at all times courteous to visitors. Authorized guides will supply themselves with badges, which will be worn on the outside of the coat. None but those duly appointed to act as guides will be permitted to charge visitors a fee for serving in that capacity, and then only at a rate fixed by the Commission and approved by the Secretary of War.
- II Visitors are expected to be orderly. All persons are by law prohibited from cutting, breaking or injuring any tree or plant on the property of the United States. They are also prohibited by law from destroying, mutilating, defacing or injuring any monument, tablet, work of art or other decoration; removing or marking stones, stakes, fencing, building

33. "An act to prevent trespassing upon and providing for the protection of National Military Parks," Approved March 3, 1897, in *Regulations for the Government of the Gettysburg National Park, Gettysburg, Pa., 1904*, GNMP Library. Also see U.S. Congress, House, Committee on Military Affairs, *Protection of National Military Parks*, 54th Cong., 1st Sess., 1896, H. Rept. 1183, p. 1, and U.S. Congress, Senate, Committee on Military Affairs, *Protection of National Military Parks*, 54th Cong., 2d Sess., 1897, S. Rept. 1448, p. 1.

or other appurtenances. Fast driving within the Park is prohibited. Offenders will be taken before the nearest justice of the peace, to be proceeded against as provided for in Section 7 of the Act approved February 11, 1895.

- III Camping-parties are forbidden without permission of the U.S. Commission, and then only upon such part of the lands as they may approve. Such parties will be held responsible for forest fires or other damages caused by them.
- IV The hunting, fishing, netting or trapping of game, birds or fish is forbidden within the limits of the Park.
- V Visitors are invited to report to the Commission in writing any incivility of neglect on the part of guides and employes.
- VI Cattle, horses and swine will not be permitted to roam at large on the grounds or along the roads. Loose animals will be impounded, and released only on the payment of a suitable fine.
- VII No person other than authorized employes, except as hereinafter provided, will be permitted to reside permanently or to engage in any business within the Park, except by authority of the Secretary of War. Employes of the Park are not to engage in any other occupation, such as farming, gardening, merchandise or other private business, except by authority of the U.S. Commission.
- VIII No drinking-saloon or bar-room or gambling establishment will be permitted within the limits of the Park.
- IX Advertisements or private notices may not be posted or displayed within the Park or along the approaches thereto, over which jurisdiction has been ceded to the United States.
- X That if any person shall destroy, mutilate, deface, injure or remove, except by permission of the Secretary of War, any column, statue, memorial structure, or work of art that shall be erected or placed upon the grounds of the Park by lawful authority, or shall destroy or remove any fence, railing, inclosure or other work for the protection or ornament of said Park or any portion thereof, or shall destroy, cut, hack, bark, break down, or otherwise injure any tree, bush or shrubbery that may be growing upon said Park, or shall cut down or fell or remove any timber, battle relic, tree or trees, growing or being upon said Park, or hunt within the limits of the Park, or shall remove or destroy any breastworks, earth works, walls, or other defences or shelter or any part thereof constructed by the armies formerly engaged in the battles on the land or approaches to the Park, or shall violate any regulation made and published by the Secretary of War for the government of visitors within the limits of said Park; any person so

offending and found guilty thereof, before any justice of the peace of the county in which the offence may be committed, shall, for each and every such offence, forfeit and pay a fine, in the discretion of the justice, according to the aggravation of the offence, of not less than five nor more than five hundred dollars, one-half for the use of the Park and the other half to the informer, to be enforced and recovered before such justice in like manner as debts of like nature are now by law recoverable in the county where the offence may be committed.

Act approved February 11, 1895.

- XI Leases to such present owners of the land as may desire to remain thereon, or to other persons deemed suitable, will be made annually during the month of December for the year ensuing, and upon the condition "that they will preserve the present buildings and roads, and the present outlines of field and forest, and that they will only cut trees or underbrush under such regulations as the Commission may prescribe, and that they will assist in caring for and protecting all tablets, monuments, or such other artificial works as may from time to time be erected by proper authority." All other leases than to "present owners" will be made annually, for the ensuing year, during the month of December, and to the highest bidder, the United States reserving the right to reject any or all bids. All rentals shall be payable for the entire year and in advance. Lessees who conduct themselves in a manner obnoxious to the United States authority will be removed, and their leases cancelled.³⁴

34. *Regulations For The Government Of The Gettysburg National Park, Gettysburg, Pa., 1895*, GNMP Library. On July 15, 1895, the commissioners added a twelfth regulation:

The Gettysburg National Park Commission hereby declares as a permanent regulation that inscriptions designed to be placed upon monuments and tablets on the battlefield of Gettysburg must in all cases be presented to this Commission to be submitted to the Honorable Secretary of War for approval before being inscribed upon such monuments or tablets.

CHAPTER VI:
ADMINISTRATION OF GETTYSBURG NATIONAL MILITARY PARK
UNDER THE GETTYSBURG NATIONAL MILITARY PARK COMMISSION: 1895-1922

THE YEARS 1895-1905

The Gettysburg National Military Park Commission, led by its able chairman, Colonel John P. Nicholson, immediately undertook to carry out the provisions of the establishing act and during the ensuing years made steady progress toward development of the park. Since Forney (January 16, 1894) and Bachelder (December 22, 1894) died before the establishing act became law, two new commissioners were appointed – William M. Robbins (he had served with the 4th Alabama Infantry at Gettysburg) of Statesville, North Carolina, on March 13, 1894,¹ and Major Charles A. Richardson (he had served with the 126th New York Infantry at Gettysburg) of Canandaigua, New York, on April 25, 1895.² Emmor B. Cope remained on the park staff as engineer. This quartet of Civil War veterans operated together as a team until Robbins died on May 3, 1905. Their accomplishments in developing, expanding, and operating the park during 1895-1905 brought the park largely to what it is today.

Relying on the labor of Italian immigrants, local artisans, and contractors, the commission transformed the muddy "cowpaths" of the GBMA into over twenty miles of semipermanent "telfordized" avenues which to this day provide the base for the macadamized avenues. Defense works were resodded, relaid, and rebuilt where necessary. Cast iron and bronze narrative tablets were written and contracted for to mark the positions of each battery, brigade, division, and corps for the armies as well as the U.S. Regulars. More than 300 condemned cannon were mounted on cast-iron carriages to mark or approximate battery sites where convenient. Five steel observation towers were built at key overlook points to assist in instructing military students in the strategy and tactics of the battle. More than 25 miles of boundary and battlefield fencing was constructed, as well as 13 miles of gutter paving. In excess of five miles of stone walls were restored or rebuilt, and nearly 17,000 trees were planted in denuded parts of the field, including Ziegler's Grove, Pitzer's Woods, Trostle Woods, and Biesecker Woods. More than 800 acres of land were acquired, including Houck's

1. A five-volume William M. Robbins Journal, covering the period from March 14, 1894, to April 15, 1905, is in the GNMP Library.

2. Transcriptions of select letters from the Charles A. Richardson, Letters Sent volume may be seen in Vertical Files, GNMP Library.

Ridge, the Peach Orchard, and several significant battlefield farms and their structures (McPherson, Culp, Weikert, Trostle, Codori, Frey, etc.).³

As aforementioned the commission relied on a variety of local skilled and unskilled laborers to accomplish its work.⁴ In 1895 virtually all laborers received \$1.25 per day for a ten-hour day. Laborers signed agreements similar to the following during the 1895-1905 period:

I hereby agree to cut the grass from Mummasburg Road along the property of the United States, south along the land and avenue to the Hagerstown road my compensation will be the grass upon said land, I promise to remove weeds, briars and clear the avenue up as I go.

(Sgned) J. Th. Waddle

I hereby agree to work for the U.S. . . . at such employment as they direct. That said employment includes the operating of the U.S. Steam Roller, at any hours of the early morning through the day and late in the evening and in wet weather, when the avenues are in the best condition to Roll. When not employed upon this work of Running the Roller, I will join any of the parties of workmen on the field as directed at 12½ cents per hour.

Since the commission owned only one horse in its early years of existence, all labor which needed teams and wagons had to be paid for by hiring such services.⁵

Improvement of public roadways in the park was one of the earliest concerns of the commission in the decade after 1895. Examples of this concern appear frequently in the early annual reports of the park's commission. For instance, the commission observed in its annual report of 1897:

The public roads within the bounds of the park, radiating in every direction from the town, the substantial center of the battlefield, would serve as convenient routes by which to reach many interesting parts of it if they

3. Georg, "Gettysburg – A Happy and Patriotic Conception," pp. 8-9.

4. Until April 15, 1903, all positions in the park above that of laborer could be filled without competitive examination by the U.S. Civil Service Commission. On that date those positions were brought within the classified service and made subject to competitive examination. Schofield to Nicholson, April 27, 1903, in Roll of Employees: Services In the War, GNMP Library.

5. Agreement of Employees of U.S. Park Commission, GNMP Library. Also see Account Books of Employees, April 1897-December 1911, January 1912-June 1920, July 1920-December 1925, and January 1, 1926-August 31, 1927, and Time Book, January 1899-January 1916, GNMP Library.

were kept in good condition; but they are generally in a very unsatisfactory state and often well-nigh impassable.⁶

By 1903 the commissioners were able to report on the significance of a recent state law:

An act of the legislature of Pennsylvania [in 1903] having conceded the privilege of converting any or all of the public roads on this battlefield into Telford pikes or avenues, and a permit having been granted our Commission to do this as to the Taneytown road from the town line southward at least as far as General Meade's headquarters, and also the Wheatfield road from Plum Run Valley across the battlefield to West Confederate avenue, it is our purpose to make these two improvements at as early a date as practicable.⁷

The work of the commission in improving the roads at Gettysburg was receiving due recognition by the spring of 1898. In May of that year Roy Stone, Director, Office of Road Inquiry, of the Department of Agriculture, sent a letter to Chairman Nicholson stating:

I am glad to be able to congratulate you upon the magnificent condition of your Government roads. We found them so good after all the wet weather of the past two weeks that even our friend, the English officer, admired them constantly. It is not among the least of your good you are showing all America an example in this respect.⁸

Throughout the decade 1895-1905 the Gettysburg park commissioners were tireless in their efforts to preserve and improve the park for the returning veterans and the increasing number of park visitors. The commissioners devoted considerable attention to marking the positions and movements of the Confederate troops as the earlier northern opposition to raising monuments to the fallen vanquished subsided. An editorial to that effect appeared in the *Gettysburg Compiler* on June 16, 1896:

The time has come when the Gettysburg battlefield should tell 'the story of American heroism on both sides of that memorable struggle; and surely after a generation has passed away, there can be no sectional passions to interpose objections to making the monuments and statues of Gettysburg tell the whole story of the matchless courage of American soldiers, whether they fought under the stars and stripes or under the stars and bars. . . . Lee and his lieutenants should be preserved in imposing statues on the

6. "Annual Report of the Gettysburg National Military Park Commission to the Secretary of War, 1896," in *Annual Reports of the Gettysburg National Military Park Commission* . . . 1893-1894, p. 38.

7. "Annual Report of the Gettysburg National Military Park Commission to the Secretary of War, 1903," in *Annual Reports of the Gettysburg National Military Park Commission* . . . 1893-1904, p. 89.

8. Stone to Nicholson, May 10, 1898, No. 26707, Document File, 1894-1923, Office of Chief of Engineers, Record Group 77, Records of the Office of Chief of Engineers, National Archives and Records Administration.

Confederate lines. . . . Let us now invite the South to complete the historic lesson of Gettysburg by placing the statues of her chieftains corresponding with the statues of the Union heroes, and let all stand to tell to future generations the story of American heroism.⁹

Responding to the changing attitudes of the nation the commissioners began efforts to mark Confederate troop positions and movements. In October 1896 the commissioners observed:

As the purpose of the National Government in taking charge of this field was not only to preserve its features as they existed at the time of battle and to make its many interesting points accessible by good roads, but also to have the positions and evolutions of both the contending armies carefully ascertained and suitably marked, and as the positions of most of the Union troops had been previously marked by monuments erected by different States at their own expense, under the supervision of the Gettysburg Battlefield Memorial Association, our attention has been largely directed to what had been left mainly undone, to wit, fixing and marking the positions and movements of the Confederate troops and the United States Regulars. Since our last report we have marked the positions of the four batteries of McIntosh's Artillery Battalion on Seminary Ridge along section 1 of the Confederate avenue, and we have placed an additional gun, making two, to each of twelve batteries belonging to Alexander's, Cabell's, and Henry's Artillery Battalions along sections 4, 5, and 6, Confederate avenue. Our plan is to mark the position of each battery by at least two guns like those which composed it and mounted on gun carriages admirably resembling the usual wooden ones, but made of iron. Handsome tablets of iron, not only for each battery, but also for each command of infantry and cavalry, will stand along the main lines of battle, with brief inscriptions specifying the name of each command, its service in the battle, and referring to auxiliary and subordinate tablets so placed as to indicate successive movements during the conflict. Much thought has been given to the preparation of these tablets and their inscriptions for the Confederate commands, so as to arrive at the utmost possible historic accuracy with regard to each one as well as perfect consistency and fairness among them as a whole. . . .¹⁰

Robbins was especially active in attempting to interest his former Southern comrades to mark their positions with monuments. One example of Robbins' efforts was an article that he had published in the *Confederate Veteran* in January 1899:

9. *Gettysburg Compiler*, June 16, 1896, quoted in Wayne Craven, *The Sculptures At Gettysburg* ([Harrisburg], 1982), p. 78.

10. "Annual Report of the Gettysburg National Military Park Commission to the Secretary of War, 1896," in *Annual Reports of the Gettysburg National Military Park Commission . . . 1893-1904*, pp. 29-30.

The main work yet to be done pertains to the Confederate positions. We are pushing this as rapidly as possible with the moderate appropriations made by Congress, but more liberal appropriations are needed as most of the lands on the Confederate side are yet owned by individuals and must be acquired by the government. My colleagues on the commission, and all other Union veterans I meet, must earnestly desire to see the Confederate side of this field marked with monuments and memorials to our gallant Southern soldiers. We of the South, both people and press, need to be aroused on this subject.

I hope that you will write, and get other citizens and old soldiers to write, to your member of Congress and other Congressmen, urging them to insist upon liberal appropriations for this great work at Gettysburg.¹¹

Robbins, however, met with resistance from his Confederate friends, because of the park regulations confining the markers to "battle lines." According to the commissioners the "method of marking the positions of troops on this field, as approved by the War Department" was

to place the principal tablet or monument of each command at the position occupied by the command in the main line of battle, and to mark the several important positions subsequently reached by each command in the course of the battle by subordinate and ancillary tablets, with appropriate brief inscriptions giving interesting details and occurrences and noting the day and hour as nearly as possible.¹²

In effect these regulations meant that Confederate monuments would be restricted to those locations where the regiments formed to begin their attacks on July 1-3, 1863, and would be prohibited in areas where they were involved in actual fighting. Needless to say, Southern soldiers were not eager to assign rear-line status to their monuments. Since Northern monuments were scattered throughout the battlefield (and in many instances in

11. "National Park At Gettysburg," *Confederate Veteran*, VII (January, 1898), 23.

12. "Annual Report of the Gettysburg National Military Park Commission to the Secretary of War, 1898," in *Annual Reports of the Gettysburg National Military Park Commission . . . 1893-1904*, pp. 45-46. This policy was further elaborated by new "Rules Concerning Monuments At Gettysburg," approved by the War Department in 1901. The new rules read:

RESOLVED: That monuments, markers and tablets for the various commands and bodies of troops shall be placed only where needed to indicate their respective positions in battle array and on the fighting lines;

That those erected in honor of individuals shall be limited to officers and soldiers who, for a conspicuous and exceptional act of heroism, may be deemed by the Secretary of War entitled to special commemoration.

Approvals of Requests, 1901, GNMP Library.

advanced positions), the Confederate veterans regarded the "new" regulations as unfair and generally refused to participate actively in the memorialization of the Army of Northern Virginia. Consequently, the work of marking the Confederate lines fell largely on the commissioners, and Robbins expended much of his energies writing the narratives for the Confederate markers on the battlefield and persuading such authorities as Confederate artilleryman E. P. Alexander to come to Gettysburg and stake out positions for the commission. As a consequence, the only Confederate regimental marker erected during his tenure was that of the 4th Alabama Infantry – paid for with Robbins' personal funds since his own regimental associates refused to contribute.¹³

Although not a commissioner, Colonel Cope, the park engineer from 1893 to 1922, played an influential role in the design and development of the park. It was his design for buildings, monuments, markers, carriages, and avenues that remain a very large part of the park's physical environment to this day. His participation in the Gettysburg campaign included the first topographic map made of the field in October 1863. Among his services to the commission in the 1895-1905 period were the preparation of two large maps completed in 1900-01. One map was a tracing of the 1868-69 Warren Map, and the other showed 1890s conditions at the same scale.¹⁴

As the commissioners continued the work of developing the park, their efforts received attention in national periodicals and popular publications. In October 1897, for instance, John B. McPherson stated in *Cosmopolitan*:

The battle of Gettysburg . . . taught Americans that there is no need to go to the fields of Europe for examples of highest heroism and valor. At Gettysburg there were fifteen Union and five Confederate regiments whose losses in killed and wounded exceeded the loss of the Light Brigade at Balaklava. The monuments, which can be seen singly and in clusters all over the fateful field, and which were erected by the survivors of the gallant regiments, tell where they fought and their comrades fell. . . . With slight play of the imagination, one can picture to himself the scene as it was in 1863.

13. Georg, "Gettysburg – A Happy and Patriotic Conception," pp. 9-10. Despite Robbins' inability to have more Southern regimental markers erected during his tenure as commissioner, Confederate Avenue, which ran along Seminary Ridge, was completed in 1901. The completion of this avenue set the stage for erection of the first Southern state memorial at Gettysburg – the Virginia Monument, which was dedicated on June 8, 1917. Craven, *Sculptures At Gettysburg*, p. 78.

14. "Annual Report of the Gettysburg National Military Park Commission to the Secretary of War, 1901," in *Annual Reports of the Gettysburg National Military Park Commission . . . 1893-1904*, p. 71. For more data on Cope's responsibilities and activities in behalf of the development and preservation of the park one should refer to his annual reports, entitled Cope's Reports, for the years 1893-1921. These reports are on file in the GNMP Library. In 1904 a relief map was prepared as an exhibit for the St. Louis Exhibition.

He went on to observe that when the plans of the commission were completed, "the people of the United States will have a park, beautiful in its natural aspect, adorned with noble works of art – a lesson to the military student and an inspiration to the patriot."¹⁵

In 1899 Luther W. Minnigh published an illustrated guide book, entitled *Gettysburg: What They Did Here*, in which he described in vivid terms the symbolism and development of the park. He observed:

There is no spot in the world connected with more memorable events than the thirty-five square miles of ground which witnessed the terrible conflict between the Federal and Confederate troops on Wednesday, Thursday and Friday, July 1st, 2nd and 3d, 1863. The Gettysburg of to-day no longer reeks with blood. The dead are buried; the widespread devastation of those few days has been repaired by the merciful hand of Time, and yet, every spot is hallowed with memories that can never die. . . . There is one Gettysburg! and it is without doubt the most picturesque and interesting point in America for the tourist, either soldier or citizen, to visit. . . .

. . . it is now possible for the tourist to visit the locations of the troops of both armies (via carriage with guide) and to intelligently examine and understand them. Five iron and steel observatories (60 and 75 feet high) have been erected upon different parts of the field and from them the entire battlefield can be seen; the eye can sweep over a landscape of magnificent scope and grandeur. . . .¹⁶

Two years later, on October 12, 1901, *Harpers Weekly* printed an article by Louise Morgan Sill describing the development and monumentation of the battlefield in glowing terms. The author observed:

Whatever may be one's views as to the ethical side of a project to preserve and immortalize a battle-field of the civil war, the field of a Northern victory, it must be conceded that the government is slowly making of Gettysburg a most interesting and, in a way, instructive memorial of the great fight. The approach to the town by rail is made picturesque by the sudden appearance of equestrian and other statuary marking various points of military interest, and situated apparently at haphazard in field or meadow, producing an effect rather startling to the unaccustomed American eye. . . . The country is rolling and picturesque, and the views from the many observation towers of iron-work, which have been erected at frequent intervals, are magnificent in extent and beauty. The great stretch of battle-field is dotted with monuments, of which no less than 470 have now been erected. Individual regiments have placed stones to mark their positions during the fight, and

15. John B. McPherson, "Battlefield of Gettysburg," *Cosmopolitan*, XXIII (October, 1897), 624.

16. Luther W. Minnigh, *Gettysburg: What They Did Here* ([Gettysburg, 1899]), pp. 133-34.

some of these are very good representations in bronze and stone of sharpshooters and kindred subjects.¹⁷

In carrying out its work the commission was guided by a policy of preserving and restoring features of the battlefield as they existed at the time of the battle. On October 2, 1900, the commissioners reported:

. . . This includes the repairing and rebuilding of the stone fences and walls which served as important military defenses, the restoring and preservation of buildings, also the renewal of forests where they have been cut away since the battle. Thousands of young trees have been planted for this purpose and are growing finely. Much care is also taken to preserve and keep in good condition the forests which existed at the time of the battle on lands since acquired and now owned by the Government. Particular care is also taken to avoid cutting away and changing the natural surface of the ground when constructing the avenues. Fortunately the lines of both armies mainly occupied ridges, slopes, and valleys of such character that avenues can be constructed so as to follow those lines closely without seriously disfiguring the ground with cuts and fills in grading. Contracts also have been made for procuring the material and building 10,000 feet of post and rail fencing to inclose sundry tracts of Government land, and likewise for furnishing the structural steel tubing and erecting pipe fences where needed along the Telford avenues.¹⁸

Earlier, on August 2-4, 1900, the park had been inspected by Lieutenant Colonel C. H. Hey, Inspector General of the War Department. The inspection report included considerable data on the operation, maintenance, and development of the park. The report stated:

The commission rents three rooms for office purposes at \$137, and a stable at \$30 per annum, exclusive of water rent, which is \$9 for offices and \$6.50 for stable. The offices are located in the Winter Building on Chambersburg street, and, though not considered adequate to the wants of the commission, they seem to be the best attainable and are convenient to the various hotels and to visitors. . . .

The three days battle of Gettysburg extended over an area of about 40 square miles, but the title of only 1221.1 acres is at present vested in the Government. The commission has so far completed 24 military avenues with a total length of nearly 13 miles at an average cost of \$8,439.55 per mile, and one avenue is now under construction, which will be 7,241 feet in length and cost about \$9,110 per mile, giving a total cost for these 25 military avenues of about \$120,000. The expense seems heavy; but no finer roads are seen anywhere and the superb condition in which they are kept seems to justify the

17. Louise Morgan Sill, "A Much-Monumented Battle-Field," *Harpers' Weekly*, XLV (October 12, 1901), 27.

18. "Annual Report of the Gettysburg National Military Park Commission to the Secretary of War, 1900," in *Annual Reports of the Gettysburg National Military Park Commission . . . 1893-1904*, p.62.

amount expended on them. The commissioners have in contemplation the construction of 22 additional avenues with a combined length of 14 miles, and estimate that this work will require about \$100,000. . . .

. . . . The commissioners mark all positions by tablets and, in the case of batteries, also by guns. To August 1, 1900, they have erected 261 tablets and placed in position 225 guns representing 96 batteries. The tablets are principally made of cast iron and cost in the aggregate \$3,036.70. The guns are mounted on carriages of cast and wrought iron set upon granite blocks built in and cemented upon stone foundation, and cost, including carriages, pyramids, foundation stone and mounting, \$99.50 each. There are also five observation towers in the park, constructed of steel with cast iron steps and floors, which cost \$2,196.75 each, except tower No. 5, \$3,260. They were all in good condition.

In marking the positions of the various military organizations, entrenchments, etc., it is also the intention of the commission to restore the woodland, much of which has been cut down, and to remove all subsequent growths in open fields, which did not previously exist, in order that the battlefield may be shown to future generations as it was at the time of this great conflict. This will be of especial interest to students of the military operations.¹⁹

By June 1904 the commissioners were able to report to the Secretary of War that "we think one more liberal appropriation by Congress, for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1906, will enable the Commission to complete the Gettysburg National Park in a manner worthy of the Government and satisfactory to every section of the country. . . ." The commissioners stated further:

There are a few important, though not large parcels of land mainly on the Confederate portion of the battlefield, which should yet be acquired, and monumental tablets erected thereon with inscriptions, and guns mounted to mark the positions of batteries; and some short avenues constructed leading to important points; and when these things are done, in addition to the great and enduring work which has already been finished, we think the object of the Government in establishing the Gettysburg National Park will have been substantially accomplished. It will be observed from what is stated in this, as well as in previous annual reports, that we have in general thought the instructions issued to the Commission were wise, to purchase from time to time but small parcels of land instead of large tracts; for the important events of the great battle could be commemorated by monuments occupying but a

19. "Report of an Inspection of the National Military Park at Gettysburg, Pa., made August 2 to 4, 1900," GNMP Library. On January 31, 1900, the commission had issued a report describing its progress in meeting the mandates of the establishing legislation. The report was prepared in response to a Senate resolution passed on January 22 requesting such information. Hey also noted that "Removal of the offices to the park is not practicable, as the act of February 11, 1895, requires that the commissioners shall have their office at Gettysburg."

comparatively small space, and the needless purchase of great areas would not only cost heavily, but would entail a continuous useless expense to maintain them, although vacant, in a condition becoming the Government. In our opinion the acquisition of any further extensive tracts of land here by the United States would be a waste of public funds . . . and when it is complete only a modest amount will be required to maintain it and to employ sufficient guards to protect a public property now aggregating in value millions of dollars.²⁰

The extent of work accomplished and the administrative and maintenance operations of the park were described in another inspection report prepared by Colonel E. A. Garlington, Inspector-General of the War Department, on December 9, 1904. The report stated in part:

The Government now owns 1,380 acres of land on the battlefield. Thirty-six acres are now under condemnation proceedings before the courts. In the opinion of the Commission there still remain about 190 acres of land that should be acquired in order to preserve the integrity of the entire battlefield. . . . In order to connect the field where the cavalry action took place during this memorable battle it is very desirable to acquire a strip of land 50 feet wide. The road has been surveyed. The proposed avenue is entirely practicable and can be acquired for about \$2,700. Under the present arrangement it is necessary for anyone desiring to visit the cavalry field to travel about 4 miles over bad roads, and for this reason it is rarely visited by the numerous throngs of people who go to the infantry field. By the proposed route a distance of about 2½ miles would be saved. It is earnestly recommended that this project be approved. The land to be acquired is mainly on that portion of the field occupied by the Confederate army, on which were stationed during the battle bodies of troops and batteries of artillery.²¹

In 1904 new regulations for the park were approved by Secretary of War Elihu Root. These regulations revised and updated those that had been adopted in 1895.²² The new regulations, which were prepared by the park commissioners, were reviewed and approved by the Office of the Judge-Advocate General of the War Department in May 1903.²³

20. "Annual Report of the Gettysburg National Military Park Commission to the Secretary of War, 1904," in *Annual Reports of the Gettysburg National Military Park Commission . . . 1893-1904*, p. 99.

21. "Inspection Report, Gettysburg National Park, December 9, 1904," in *Annual Reports of the Gettysburg National Military Park Commission, . . . 1893-1904*, pp. 106-07. For more data on the tree planting program commenced in the park in 1904, see Hall to Nicholson, November 24, 1903, and August 11, 1904; "Recommendation For Planting on the Gettysburg National Park," [1903] , by H. B. Kempton; Wilson to Secretary of War, July 29, 1904; and "Forest Planting in the Gettysburg National Park, Pennsylvania," 1904; in Tree Planting, GNMP Library.

22. Earlier in 1897 the commissioners had prepared "rules governing the riding of Bicycles within the limits of the Gettysburg National Military Park."

23. *Regulations for the Government of the Gettysburg National Park, Gettysburg, Pa., 1904*, and attached correspondence, GNMP Library.

In June 1905 the Gettysburg commissioners reported on the influx of visitors to the battlefield and the law enforcement problems resulting from the increasing number of automobiles in the park. The commissioners observed:

A large number of persons have visited the field. The fine avenues seem to be a special inducement to large and numerous automobile parties, who persistently disregard the rules and regulations governing the park, as approved by the Secretary of War, and under the present rules it appears to be impossible to secure their arrest and conviction.

The commissioners also urged the continuation of marking battle positions:

It is expected that other monuments will be erected. It is suggested that markers of little cost be placed to mark the farthest and most important advances of the Confederate forces (brigades) in the attack on the Union positions during the three days' engagement. The tablets now erected on the Confederate avenues give the condensed itinerary of brigades only and show where they started from. The markers suggested will show the point reached and give a history of the field of attack. A suitable and inexpensive block of stone, with appropriate inscription, will answer the purposes of the historian. The advance positions of the Union regiments are now marked by monuments and markers which have been erected by the various States.

The recommendation to continue marking battle positions was never completed by the War Department, and has yet to be undertaken in any serious manner by the National Park Service, although it was a major instruction in the Establishing Act for the park.²⁴

THE YEARS 1905-1922

During the years 1905-22 the Gettysburg commissioners continued to administer, develop, and maintain the park. In May 1905 Major General L. L. Lomax of Virginia (he had served with the 11th Virginia Cavalry at Gettysburg) replaced Robbins on the commission upon the death of the latter on May 3. The other two commissioners, Chairman Nicholson and Richardson, remained in their posts and, together with Engineer Cope, continued to make substantial contributions to the growth and development of the park. Land acquisition, construction of piked avenues, mounting of guns, erection of tablets and monuments, rebuilding of stone walls, paving of gutters, cutting out undergrowth and removing debris from the wooded areas, and planting of trees continued to be major concerns of the

24. *Annual Report of the Gettysburg National Military Park Commission to the Secretary of War, 1905*, pp. 5-6. Also see General Information Relating to the Work of the Commission on the Battlefield, GNMP Library.

commission as it sought "to preserve the field as nearly as practicable in the condition it was at the time of the battle."²⁵

During the 1905-22 period more and more of the activities of the park labor force became routine maintenance operations. In August 1910, for instance, the commissioners stated in their annual report:

The engineers, guards, and other employees have been on duty, as hereinafter stated: The engineer and assistant every day either on the field or in the office; the guards on duty every day except in very stormy weather, and the artisans and laborers have been employed on an average of two hundred and seventy-one days, July, 1909-10. Their work is principally on the field and can not be done in stormy or winter weather. The artisans and laborers are employed upon a variety of work – constructing and repairing drains along pike avenues, rebuilding walls that were used as defenses by the troops of the armies, seeding and sodding banks and monument bases, repairing the avenues, cleaning groves of the park of dead wood, mowing the open grounds, avenue sides, monument and battery plots, keeping in complete order the United States land, included in the battlefield of July 1, 2, 3, 1863, and the east and south cavalry fields, the necessity for which is set forth in the act of Congress establishing the Gettysburg National Park.²⁶

By 1915 the park labor force had grown to 45 persons. These positions included two assistant superintendents, one rodman messenger, one hostler, four guards, twenty-seven artisans, four laborers, and five laborers with teams. According to the commissioners the artisans had

improved in their work. The material and appliances used by them being furnished by the commission, is of the best quality and there is no incentive to slight details as is often done in contracts. It is necessary to make contract for certain machinery and appliances which can not be supplied by the commission, such as avenue road piking, and farm machinery which must be furnished by equipped manufactories, gun carriages, fencing and building material for the Government farms, etc.²⁷

25. *Report of the Gettysburg National Park Commission, 1906*, pp. 3-7, and "Report of the Gettysburg National Military Park Commission, 1909," in *Annual Report of the War Department, 1909*, III, 31.

26. "Report of the Gettysburg National Military Park Commission, 1910," in *Annual Reports of the War Department, 1910*, III, 299.

27. "Report of the Gettysburg National Military Park Commission, 1915," in *Annual Reports of the War Department, 1915*, I, 867.

During the years following 1905 the commission continued the piking of the public roads in the park. In 1906, for instance, the commissioners reported that they had been authorized by the Secretary of War

pursuant to an act of Congress, to pike 12.9 miles of public roads, beginning at the borough line of Gettysburg and ending the piking of each road within the limits of the park. Fifteen thousand dollars have been added to the Commission's appropriation for the fiscal year to begin the work.²⁸

As much of the battlefield was developed it became increasingly used for military training and instruction. In 1906, for instance, the commissioners devoted considerable attention in their annual report to the activities of the National Guard of Pennsylvania (which had been using the park for summer encampments since 1884) and the West Point cadets (the graduating West Point class had made its first annual visit to Gettysburg in 1902) in the park. The report stated:

The following United States land has been selected for the division encampment of the National Guard of Pennsylvania from July 21 to 28, 1906, and preparations are now being made for their arrival: One field of the Trostle farm, about 18 acres; three fields of the Smith [Klingel] farm, about 15 acres; one field of the Diehl [Sherfy] farm, about 8 acres; two fields of the McPherson farm, about 24 acres; one field of the Codori farm, about 25 acres; one field south of McMillans woods, 5 acres.

Permission was given by the Commission to make openings in the fences and to lay pipe and erect electric light poles over the ground, with the understanding that every thing should be restored, after the encampment, by the quartermaster of the division to its original condition and to the satisfaction of the Commission. . . .

The graduating class of 1906 from the United States Military Academy, West Point, arrived at Gettysburg early May 3, 1906, upon the annual class visit to the battlefield, Colonel Fiebeger in command; 86 officers and cadets. They visited the First Days Field and Culps Hill in the morning and the Cavalry Field in the afternoon. They continued their study of the battle by going over the South Field on May 4. During their visit they came to the office of the Commission and inspected the maps, etc., and left for West Point at 7 p.m.²⁹

In preparation for the national guard encampment the commission developed a list of instructions for the battlefield guards. The instructions, 200 copies of which were printed,

28. *Report of the Gettysburg National Park Commission, 1906*, pp. 4-5.

29. *Report of the Gettysburg National Park Commission, 1906*, pp. 6-7, and Nicholson Journal, 1904, pp. 2-8.

were designed to reinforce the park regulations and preserve the battlefield. The instructions stated:

1. You must protect and defend all United States property, including the Monuments, Markers, Tablets, Guns, Earth works, Stone Walls and Fences, Trees, Shrubbery, &c.
2. Heavy Teams hauling materials must not be allowed on the piked avenues.
3. All Carriages must be driven on the right sides of the avenues.
4. No person or persons must be allowed to ride or drive faster than 7 miles per hour, when on the avenues.
5. Bicycle riders must be compelled to ride on the right side of avenues, and not more than two persons abreast.
6. No person must be allowed to drive or ride on the sod bordering the avenues, except where the fence has been opened by order of the Commission. Carriages must not be allowed in the groves of the Park, nor horses hitched to trees, within the limits of the Park.
7. Guards at the Towers must warn all persons against writing upon, marking upon, or in any way defacing them.
8. Automobiles are limited to a speed of seven miles an hour.
9. No Sale Stands of any description must be allowed on the avenues, nor on any United States property.³⁰

During 1907-08 United States Regular Army monuments were erected in the park after some twenty years of discussion and planning. Acts of Congress passed on February 18, 1903 [32 Stat. 838] and March 3, 1905 [33 Stat. 980] appropriated

money to erect a monument to each battery of artillery, each regiment of infantry, each regiment of cavalry, and to the engineers of the United States Regular Army engaged in the battle of Gettysburg.

In accordance with the legislation a nine-man committee, with Major General James F. Wade, U.S. Army, Sixth Cavalry, as chairman, was appointed to assist in the selection of designs and locations of the monuments.³¹

30. "Instructions to the Guards on the Battlefield," July 2, 1906, in Approvals of Requests, 1906, GNMP Library.

31. *Report of the Gettysburg National Park Commission, 1907*, pp. 5-6.

The following year, on July 1, 1908, the commissioners reported on the progress in the erection of the monuments. The foundation of the large monument was

completed July 8, 1907, and the foundations for the forty-two small monuments were staked out at the positions of the various commands at different times during the summer and autumn. These foundations were built before the close of the year 1907 and the small monuments set up, the tablets fastened, and the work completed May 15, 1908. At this date the large United States Regular monument above referred to has been completed except four large bronze tablets.

The contracts for these monuments were awarded to the Van Amringe Granite Company, of Boston, Mass., February 11, 1907, and February 15, 1907. Numerous samples of granite were submitted to the Commission, and for the large monument Mount Airy, N.C., granite was selected after much deliberation, and a visit by the Commission to the quarry in order to examine into the facilities of the company to get out the stone and the quality of the work done by them. They found the graphite of excellent quality, light in color and uniform in shade, and that it could be furnished in large blocks.

The forty-two small monuments are composed of Jonesboro granite, 94 by 50 inches and 7 feet high, set upon concrete foundations, and upon each is fastened a descriptive bronze tablet and the coat of arms of the United States. . . .³²

The years 1907-08 witnessed increasing interest on the part of Southern states to erect memorials at Gettysburg. The Virginia legislature, for instance, passed an act on March 9, 1908, appropriating \$10,000 "to commemorate the services of the Virginia troops in the battle" at Gettysburg and authorizing a five-person committee to select a location, design, and inscriptions for a monument not to exceed \$50,000 in cost.³³

Portions of the battlefield were again used by the Pennsylvania National Guard in July 1908. The encampment, which experienced tragedy as a result of severe electrical storms, was described by the commissioners:

32. *Report of the Gettysburg National Park Commission, 1908*, p. 5. The monuments were formally dedicated on May 31, 1909, by President William H. Taft. For further data on the monuments see Chaffee to Adjutant-General of the Army, December 22, 1908, and "Gettysburg Monument to Commemorate the Services of the Regular Army on that Battle-Field, July 1-3, 1863," in Division of Manuscripts, Huntington Library. Also see U.S. Congress, House, Committee on Military Affairs, *Monuments on the Battlefield of Gettysburg, Pa., Etc.*, 57th Cong., 2d Sess., 1903, H. Rept. 3396, pp. 1-2; U.S. Congress, Senate, Committee on Military Affairs, *Monuments on the Battlefield of Gettysburg, Pennsylvania, Etc.*, 57th Cong., 2d Sess., 1903, S. Rept. 2882, pp. 1-2; and U.S. Congress, House, Committee on Appropriations, *Dedication of Markers and Monuments at Gettysburg, Pa.*, 61st Cong., 1st Sess., 1909, H. Doc. 52, pp. 1-2.

33. *Report of the Gettysburg National Park Commission, 1908*, pp. 7-8.

Instructors were detailed by the War Department during the encampment. A detachment of United States officers from Fort Leavenworth, Kans., on a journey of observation, were also present at that time. There were severe electric storms during the encampment, causing injury to many soldiers and death to three.³⁴

On January 18, 1910, a regulation formalizing the Gettysburg commissioners' policy for the location of "monuments, markers, and tablets" was approved by the War Department and President William H. Taft. The regulation stated:

Whereas since the creation of the Gettysburg National Park Commission the location of monuments, markers, and tablets in the Gettysburg National Park has been uniformly restricted to the respective positions occupied by the commands and bodies of troops in line of battle, and the respective lines of battle have thus been clearly defined, and the space between them has been and still is unmarked by monument, marker, or tablet, the well-established and consistently followed plan of the commission above indicated is hereby approved and it is directed that hereafter no deviation for this plan be made.

Other positions occupied by the various commands and bodies of troops may be stated in the inscriptions on the monuments, markers, and tablets located on the lines of battle.

Hereafter monuments, markers, or tablets erected in honor of individuals shall be limited to officers and soldiers who for a conspicuous and exceptional act of heroism may be deemed by the Secretary of War entitled to special commemoration.³⁵

By 1910 the annual visit of the graduating class from West Point was becoming more technical in its instructional training exercises. According to the commissioners' annual report for that year the class

83 in number, and 9 officers, arrived at Gettysburg May 3, 1910, for a two days' study of the battlefield, under command of Colonel Fiebeger, United States Army. The class was divided into four sections, each section being in charge of an instructor from the officers accompanying them, their investigations being directed to different arts of the battlefield, but covering in turn the whole field.³⁶

34. "Report of the Gettysburg National Military Park Commission, 1909," in *Annual Report of the War Department, 1909*, I, 33.

35. "Report of the Gettysburg National Military Park Commission, 1910," in *Annual Reports of the War Department, 1910*, III, 301.

36. *Ibid.*, III, 303.

During July 1910 it was determined to establish a camp of military instruction and maneuvers east of the town of Gettysburg for detachments of the United States Regular Army and organized militia. The site of the camp, outside the park, embraced some 320 acres east of Rock Creek.

By July 1 three detachments of United States cavalry and three batteries of United States regular artillery had arrived in camp, "pending the arrival of whole command, part of which will be brigades of state militia from Maryland and Virginia; and the commanding general."³⁷ The instructional camp, according to the commissioners, involved the following activities and maneuvers:

These troops were encamped from July 1 to 31, 1910. Portions of the Maryland and Virginia National Guard took part in the maneuvers from July 1 to 9, and of the National Guard of New Jersey also, the first detachment from July 10 to 17, second detachment July 17 to 23, and third detachment July 23 to 31; the Third Brigade of the National Guard of Pennsylvania from July 11 to 18; the National Guard of West Virginia from July 18 to 27; and the National Guard of the District of Columbia from July 18 to 31. The maneuver ground contained 20 square miles.

The order of the Secretary of War placing the maneuver camp outside the limits of the park was of the greatest value to the officers and men of the camp for a study of the field and the memorials, from the fact that the most important positions were not covered by masses of men, and the roads and avenues were not encumbered by troops drilling and supplies being hauled.

Moreover, the commission were enabled with their small force of guards to have complete control of the field, and there was no complaint of violations of the regulations of the Secretary of War governing the park.³⁸

During the spring and summer of 1910 the Gettysburg commissioners engaged in a campaign to rid the park area roads of "unsightly and offensive" advertisement signs. The campaign was complicated by various legal technicalities as described by Chairman Nicholson:

. . . we find that some portions of the Public Roads extend through lands owned on both sides by private persons and presumably to the centre of the road, or owned on one side by the United States and on the other by a private person presumably to the centre of the road, or owned on both sides by the United States presumably to the centre of the road. The private owners have

37. *Ibid.*

38. "Report of the Gettysburg National Military Park Commission, 1911," in *Annual Reports of the War Department, 1911*, III, 324.

placed or permitted to be placed advertisements within the road limits. The Commissioners consider these advertisements unsightly and offensive, and have removed them from lands within the road limits where the United States owns both sides of the road and have also removed the advertisements from the side owned by the United States where the ownership presumably extended to the centre of the road, but they have questioned whether the ceding by the Commonwealth to the United States of the roads on one or both sides, presumably to the centre of the road gave to the Commissioners the right to remove the advertisements on the side or sides owned by the private person, and located outside of the fence line and along the roadside. The lands now within the limits of the Public Roads were originally taken from or carved out of the lands now adjacent to the roads.³⁹

In response to the commission's request War Department Judge-Advocate-General George B. Davis provided on September 3 a legal opinion concerning its authority to remove the signs in question. In his decision Davis stated:

Inasmuch as the State has ceded jurisdiction and control of this highway to the United States for the purpose of maintaining and using the same as a roadway of the park, it is believed that the Park Commission should assume authority to remove obstructions of the character mentioned within, whether the same be placed on the part which the United States owns in fee or not; that this authority should be claimed under the cession as an exercise on behalf of the public of the right to remove obstructions placed within the limits of the highway.⁴⁰

The National Guard of Pennsylvania continued to use portions of the park for summer encampments. For instance, the commissioners reported on the encampment from August 10-22, 1911:

In view of the encampment of the Pennsylvania National Guard, the Gettysburg National Park Commission appointed 40 of the artisans and laborers employed by them to patrol the field and to look after United States property. . . .

On August 11, 1910, the Pennsylvania Guard began to arrive, the engineers of the guard having already laid out the ground for each brigade, and occupied parts of three farms owned by the United States but rented to tenants.⁴¹

39. Nicholson to Secretary of War, July 26, 1910, in *Approvals of Requests*, 1910, GNMP Library.

40. Decision of George B. Davis, Judge-Advocate-General, War Department, September 3, 1910, in *Approvals of Requests*, 1910, GNMP Library.

41. "Report of the Gettysburg National Military Park Commission, 1911," in *Annual Reports of the War Department*, 1911, III, 324.

In 1911 the Gettysburg commissioners reported that "the requirements of existing legislation were inadequate to secure the 'roads, trees, monuments, and markers from injury and destruction.'" These problems were the result of "the increase in the number of visitors and the very general use of automobiles." Accordingly, revised and updated regulations for the park were adopted on September 21, and efforts were made to obtain passage of legislation for increased protection of national military parks.⁴²

On November 20, 1911, a land transfer between the national cemetery and park was implemented by the Secretary of War to provide a site for the new Lincoln Memorial, the erection of which was mandated to be within the park's boundaries by the act establishing the park on February 11, 1895. A 2.13-acre tract at the extreme southern edge of the cemetery was transferred "from the control of the War Department to the jurisdiction of the Gettysburg National Park Commission" to satisfy that mandate, because the commissioners believed the memorial commemorating the Gettysburg Address should be associated with, and within, the confines of the national cemetery.⁴³

The name of Gettysburg National Park was informally changed to Gettysburg National Military Park in 1909 by the commissioners. Prior to 1909 the two names had been used on an interchangeable basis, but after this date the park was generally referred to as a national military park. This name change coincided with efforts in Congress to pass legislation "providing for the dedication of the Gettysburg National Military Park and providing for an appropriation of \$10,000 in furtherance of this purpose." Bills to this effect were introduced in the House on March 7, 1910, by Representative D. F. Lafean and in the Senate on April 15, 1910, by Senator Boies Penrose. While neither bill came to a vote in Congress, their introduction brought the following comments from the commissioners on August 1, 1911:

The commission feel that their intimate knowledge of the field and of the history of the battle, together with their extensive acquaintance with survivors of both of the contending armies, as well as with the official representatives of the several States whose regiments fought here, qualify them to aid effectively the general committee of the fiftieth anniversary of the battle, and to arrange for a fitting dedication of the national military park as

42. *Regulations for the Government of the Gettysburg National Military Park, Gettysburg, Penna., 1911*, GNMP Library. Thereafter, the War Department periodically prepared and revised regulations that applied generally to all the national military parks. See, for instance, U.S. War Department, *Regulations for the National Military Parks* (Washington, 1915), pp. 7-11. A copy of the 1911 regulations may be seen in Appendix N.

43. *Annual Reports of the War Department, 1912*, I, 510.

contemplated by the act of Congress providing such dedication under direction of the Secretary of War.⁴⁴

As the commissioners observed in the aforementioned report they were actively involved in planning for the fiftieth anniversary of the battle. On September 8, 1908, Chairman Nicholson had proposed to a group of Gettysburg citizens that "the question of properly celebrating the fiftieth anniversary of the Battle of Gettysburg should be considered, first by a town meeting and subsequently fostered by earnest efforts with the governor of the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania." By 1910 state and national committees had been appointed and planning for the event was proceeding under the aegis of a joint fiftieth anniversary commission consisting of a Pennsylvania commission, a congressional committee, and commonwealth representatives.⁴⁵

Congress aided the anniversary by appropriating one half of the sum needed (not to exceed \$150,000) for the celebration (37 Stat. 625). The appropriation was to provide for drinking water, sewerage, equipment, and rations for the event. The "Fiftieth Anniversary of Battle of Gettysburg Commission of the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania" would have "charge of the order of exercises during the celebration," while "physical control of the camp and grounds and the movements of troops and marching bodies" would be in the hands of the Secretary of War.

The three-day fiftieth anniversary commemoration of the Battle of Gettysburg, held July 1-3, 1913, was attended by 53,407 veterans, 44,713 from the Northern states and 8,694 from those of the South.⁴⁶ The veterans were housed in some 6,000 large buff-colored tents. The administrative and logistical operations of the event were described as follows by the commissioners:

On June 26, 1913, Maj. Charles D. Rhodes, United States Army, reported to the chairman of the commission with two troops of Fifteenth United States Cavalry, and went on the field, stationing guards at points selected experimentally at first, and in accordance with the commission's map, directing travel and guarding the battle field during the encampment. . . .

44. "Report of the Gettysburg National Military Park Commission, 1911," in *Annual Reports of the War Department, 1911*, II, 326-27.

45. *Ibid.*, 326, and "Report of the Gettysburg National Military Park Commission, 1913," in *Annual Reports of the War Department, 1913*, III, 190-91.

46. A program of the fiftieth anniversary commemoration may be found in the vertical files of the GNMP library.

The camp had been staked out and the tents pitched by the latter part of June, and the Assistant Secretary of War, Hon. Henry Breckinridge, visited the campground on a tour of observation, and consultation with the chairman of the National Park Commission.

A plot of ground on the west side of the Emmitsburg Road opposite the Codori House was rented by the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania, containing 8 acres, and on it was erected a great tent about 200 feet wide and 450 feet long, in which to hold the exercises and provide for the vast concourse of people July 1, 2, and 3, 1913.

On July 1 there were 42,000 veterans in camp. They found every detail of the preparations completed, and were well pleased with the arrangements. Before July 3 the tents of the veterans of both armies contained 50,000 soldiers and exceeded the expectations of the joint commission, but the predicted and expected turnout of visitors to the camp field did not materialize. The number expected during the encampment had been variously estimated at from 100,000 to 800,000, but the number on any one day did not exceed 25,000. . . .⁴⁷

The 50th anniversary reunion in 1913 signified that the Union and Confederate contestants had largely reconciled their differences and that both sides recognized the growth and development of the "Re-United States." Highlights of the reunion included an emotional handshake over a stone wall near the Angle on July 3, between almost 300 Virginia and Pennsylvania veterans of Pickett's Charge. An address by President Woodrow Wilson occurred the following day, July 4, to a vast assemblage of veterans and guests. Many observers noted the significance of the latter occasion, since Wilson was the first Southern-born president to hold office since the Civil War.⁴⁸ The veterans' resolve to build a peace memorial on the battlefield led to the erection of such an edifice 25 years later.

47. "Report of the Gettysburg National Military Park Commission, 1914," in *Annual Reports of the War Department, 1914*, I, 636-37. Also see U.S. Congress, Senate, Committee on the Fiftieth Anniversary of the Battle of Gettysburg, *Fiftieth Anniversary of the Battle of Gettysburg: Letter from the Secretary of War . . .* 62d Cong., 2d Sess., 1912, S. Doc. 663, pp. 1-16.

48. "Gettysburg's Last Big Reunion," *Literary Digest*, XLVII (July 12, 1913), 45. Also see "Two Gettysburg Encounters," *Literary Digest*, XLVII (July 12, 1913), 75; "At Gettysburg," and "Gettysburg: A Common Ideal," *Outlook*, CIV (July 12, 1913), 541 and 554-55, respectively; Edgar Allen Forbes, "Gettysburg - A Heritage," *American Magazine*, LXXVI (July, 1913), 11-16; "Taps For Nine At Gettysburg," *Survey*, XXX (July 12, 1913), 491; "Victory!!," *Independent*, LXXV (July 3, 1913), 1-4; Beryl Taylor, "Badges of the Gettysburg Reunion in 1913," *Hobbies*, LXIII (July, 1958), 24-25, 49; Bruce Catton, "The Day the Civil War Ended: Gettysburg, Fifty Years After," *American Heritage*, XXIX (June/July, 1978), 57-58, 61; John W. Haines, "The Fiftieth Anniversary Celebration of the Battle of Gettysburg," *Lincoln Herald*, LV (Winter, 1953), 35, 37, 39-41, 48; and Herbert Francis Sherwood, "Gettysburg Fifty Years Afterward," *Outlook*, CIV (July 19, 1913), 610-12.

Various publications were printed in connection with the 50th anniversary celebration. Among these was one by the Pennsylvania Railroad which described the existing development of the battlefield. The publication noted:

No battlefield in the world is so elaborately marked, so easy to understand by the layman as well as the military man. So accurately have the positions of the various commands in the battle been designated, that one has no difficulty in finding the location of any regiment during the three days of the fight. . . . Through the park, the Commission has laid out thirty-two and one-half miles of telford roads. These are called avenues and are named after the Division, Corps and Brigade Commanders whose troops, at some critical portion of the battle, centered around the territory through which they extend.

These special avenues open up to the pedestrian, the driver or the automobilist the portions of the field not directly on the old main roads which radiated from Gettysburg at the time of the battle.

These main roads – the Chambersburg Pike, the Hagerstown or Fairfield Road, the Mummasburg, Carlisle, Harrisburg, Hunterstown, Hanover, Baltimore, Taneytown and Emmitsburg Roads – have been improved by the government, so that every foot of the field is within easy reach of the visitor to Gettysburg.

There are today 588 monuments; the greater portion commemorating positions held by regimental organizations of infantry and cavalry, and batteries of artillery. The positions of the latter are further marked by 368 mounted cannon, in many cases behind entrenchments constructed during the battle for the protection of the gunners of the batteries.

In addition to the various state monuments, the Battlefield Commission has erected 156 special monuments and 550 markers on both the Union and Confederate lines, showing the location of the larger commands on the three days of the battle. . . .⁴⁹

In their annual report issued on July 1, 1912, the commissioners noted for the first time that there was a growing number of complaints about the battlefield guides, thus causing them to call for a plan whereby the guides would be licensed through the War Department. In the years following the battle, increasing numbers of people visited Gettysburg to view the battlefield and cemetery. Prior to the automobile era, visitors arrived at Gettysburg principally by train, the rail excursion trips generally being combined with walking tours from stops on the railroad. In the early days, many local citizens drove hacks over the battlefield and served as combination drivers and guides. Thus, when Gettysburg National Park was authorized in

49. Pennsylvania Railroad, *Gettysburg: The Story of the Battle of Gettysburg and the Field Described As It Is On the Fiftieth Anniversary* (Gettysburg, 1913), pp. 51-55.

1895 the War Department inherited an informal guide system that had gradually grown into a tradition. In 1895 there were some twelve individuals who were making a substantial part of their living by guiding visitors over the battlefield for a fee.⁵⁰

From 1895 to the early 1910s the War Department made no attempt to regulate the individuals who furnished guide service over the battlefield. The guide business, however, became lucrative for increasing numbers of persons when visitation to the battlefield increased sharply as a result of the availability of private automobiles after 1910. Thus by 1913 the commissioners observed:

Many complaints come to the commission from tourists at the absence of a control over the guides over the battlefield and their charges in many cases. The commission think that the time has come when guides should be licensed through the War Department. Especially is this the case as the older and experienced guides are passing away, and their successors discuss the phases of the battle at variance with its history, and from their statements it would appear that they had the privilege of the views of the commanders in chief of the armies here engaged.

A system has grown up with many of them that deprives the visitors of a greater portion of the field, and rarely from the statistics gathered does the tourist, under the understanding that appears to exist, pass over more than 14 of the 28 miles which is requisite for a conception of the battle. . . .

This in the public interest should be remedied, and a guide, after an examination and by a proper board, should be licensed without exacting a fee, and in event of deception and imposition this license and badge be revoked.

Photographers are licensed by authority of the War Department without charge and assigned each week to stations on the field. Complaints as to imposition or excessive charges have passed, and they take pride in the maintenance of the assignment rule and their reputations for fair dealing with the public.⁵¹

In response to the commissioners' observations Acting Secretary of War Henry Breckinridge submitted draft legislation to the House of Representatives on December 29, 1913. The proposed bill authorized the Secretary of War to prescribe regulations under which licenses could be granted to Gettysburg battlefield guides and prohibited unlicensed persons from conducting tours. In his transmittal letter, the acting secretary noted:

50. Franklin G. Collins, "A Study of Licensed Battlefield Guides: Gettysburg National Military Park," August 1969, p. 12, Files, Interpretation and Visitor Services Division, MARO.

51. "Report of the Gettysburg National Military Park Commission," 1913, in *Annual Reports of the War Department*, 1913, III, 191-92.

The existing laws for the administration of the Gettysburg National Park are utterly inadequate to prevent persons who possess no qualifications whatever as guides from urging their services upon the public. As a result, visitors are daily being imposed upon and leave the battle field with confused and vague ideas of what actually occurred. When we consider the thousands of people who every year visit this battle field, it is apparent that such conditions are likely to produce in the public mind an entirely erroneous conception of the battle, and furthermore, as we get farther away in point of time from the actual knowledge of those who participated therein, the erroneous accounts of incompetent and unreliable guides will become more and more misleading.⁵²

The proposed legislation received little attention by Congress and by 1915 the number of guides had increased to more than 100 men. An unusual number of complaints that year forced the War Department to issue regulations for the guides. The regulations stated that after October 17, 1915, only guides licensed by the department would be allowed to conduct visitors in the park for a fee. An active roster of 100 guides would be maintained for the park. Regulations covering fees, solicitation, conduct, length of tours, and personal cleanliness were established. Guides were required to take an examination to prove that they were well enough informed about the battle to act as guides. (See Appendix O for a copy of the regulations governing the guides). In July 1916 the commissioners commented on the licensing process during its first year of operation:

On August 1, 1915, notices were published that applications would be received from persons wishing to be examined as guides. Ninety-five persons applied, almost all of whom had experience on the field. They were given written examinations in classes of 10 to 15, the time extending to October 5, 1915. Ninety-one passed the examination and were given licenses. . . .⁵³

The War Department plan was to eliminate some of the worst offenders among the guides by refusing a license to the obviously unfit and by revoking the license of those guides who did not comply with the regulations. The regulations were upheld by the courts when unlicensed guides were arrested for conducting visitors over the battlefield after October 17, 1915. The greatest obstacle to the enforcement of the regulations, however, was the organized political influence of the guides. While the licensing did improve the quality of the guides who entered business after 1915, the War Department was unsuccessful in its attempts to end

52. U.S. Congress, House, Committee on Military Affairs, *Guides to the Gettysburg Battle Field: Letter from the Acting Secretary of War* . . . 63d Cong., 2d Sess., 1914, H. Doc. 591, p. 1.

53. "Report of the Gettysburg National Military Park Commission," 1916, in *Annual Reports of the War Department, 1916*, 1233-34. Further examinations were given in 1921, 1922, 1927, and 1929. By 1921 there were 93 licensed guides. In that year a regulation went into effect limiting the number of trips per guide to three a day except on legal holidays when four were permitted.

such practices as high pressure soliciting, short tripping, overcharging, and untidy appearance.⁵⁴

During the spring of 1914 a "United States Public Building" had been completed on Baltimore Street in Gettysburg. The first floor was to be used as the town post office and the second floor, except for one room in the northeast corner, was to serve as offices and storage for the battlefield commissioners. The new rooms, according to the commissioners, were "very much more convenient and satisfactory in every way than the old quarters" had been in the Winter Building on Chambersburg Street.⁵⁵

During the pre-World War I years the commissioners paid increasing attention to the maintenance and preservation of the historic farm buildings on the battlefield. Structural repairs were conducted, and various improvements were made both to the exteriors and interiors of the buildings.⁵⁶

The Gettysburg commissioners also gave increasing attention to farm cultivation of leased acreage in the park during the 1910s. In 1916, for instance, eighteen farm properties were under lease with a total of 1,399.62 acres under cultivation.⁵⁷ The following year the commissioners reported on farm operations in the park:

There are 19 farms on the battle field leased to tenants who cultivate their grounds under the direction of William C. Storrick, a practical farmer, who keeps them up to the best methods in order to raise the best crops. . . .

A change of tenants was made at the following places: McMillan and Barrett land, Slyder place, Althoff place, and the Weikert property. . . .

About 25 acres of land consisting of two tracts, one located on East Cemetery Hill and the other on Oak Ridge, and not under lease, have been placed by the chairman under cultivation. This land was prepared for planting, divided into plots, and given to pupils of the Gettysburg schools for cultivation in view of the food shortage which now threatens the country.

54. Collins, "A Study of Licensed Battlefield Guides," pp. 13-14.

55. "Report of the Gettysburg National Military Park Commission," 1914, in *Annual Reports of the War Department, 1914*, I, 642-43, and U.S. Congress, House, Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds, *Public Building At Gettysburg, Pa*, 62d Cong., 1st Sess., 1911, H. Rept. 138, p. 1.

56. "Report of the Gettysburg National Military Park Commission," 1914, in *Annual Reports of the War Department, 1914*, I, 640-41.

57. "Report of the Gettysburg National Military Park Commission," 1916, in *Annual Reports of the War Department, 1916*, p. 1,233.

These plots were planted in corn, potatoes, and other crops. The pupils are to receive all the crops raised and pay for the preparation of the land from the proceeds.⁵⁸

Farm operations in the park were somewhat disrupted by military use of the battlefield during World War I. In the postwar years, however, normal operations were resumed. During 1919-20, for instance, nineteen farm tenants paid the park \$2,280 in rent.⁵⁹

The outbreak of World War I in Europe led to increased use of the Gettysburg battlefield for military purposes. In addition to the continuing annual visits of the graduating classes of the United States Military Academy, other military contingents went to Gettysburg during the war years for study and instruction in military tactics and strategy. Among these groups in 1916 were a detachment of U.S. Marine Corps officers and a group of 23 officers of the New York National Guard.⁶⁰

On May 22, 1917, the War Department established in Gettysburg National Military Park a recruit training camp for the U.S. Regular Army, Eastern Department. Preparations were also made for suitable camp grounds for several infantry regiments enroute from El Paso, Texas. One regiment encamped on the Codori farm in the park and another on land along the Round Top branch of the Gettysburg and Harrisburg Railroad. Other campgrounds were "secured by agreements with the tenants, partly on United States land and partly on private property." These grounds were used for recruits as they arrived "to augment the encampment preparatory to reorganization." By July 1, 1917, the following land in the park was set aside for military camps:

On the Codori farm: South field east side of Emmitsburg Road, William Redding tenant, grass field containing 33 acres.

Field between Emmitsburg road and Hancock Avenue, William F. Redding, tenant; grass fields containing 25 acres.

Three-cornered field on the west side of Emmitsburg Road in the angle between that road and Round Top Railroad, grass field containing 16 acres.

58. "Report of the Gettysburg National Military Park Commission," 1917, in *Annual Reports of the War Department, 1917*, p. 998. Storrick had been born near East Cavalry field, and after teaching school became a park employee in 1909. He served at the park until 1930, holding various jobs such as forester, farm supervisor, and superintendent of guides.

59. Nicholson Journal, 1919, p. 3, GNMP Library.

60. "Report of the Gettysburg National Military Park Commission," 1916, in *Annual Reports of the War Department, 1916*, pp. 1,233, 1,235.

On the Bryan farm: William F. Abell, tenant, field east of Emmitsburg Road and between that road and Hancock Avenue; a grass field containing 3 acres.

On the Smith farm: W. S. Shields, tenant, fields east of Emmitsburg Road containing 5 acres. Other United States land may be taken.

Other grounds within the limits of the National Park, but not on United States land, are occupied by a part of the encampment.⁶¹

The military took steps to protect the battlefield during its use of the battlefield. Evidence of this concern by the military authorities is clear from a letter written by the commander of the 61st Infantry to Chairman Nicholson on July 10, 1917:

You may be sure that every effort will be made by myself to see that enlisted men of the 61st Infantry do not molest in any way the monuments, trees, shrubbery, woods, etc., of the Gettysburg National Park.

I personally hold this park to be sacred, and through the battalion and company commanders will do everything in my power to see that this nuisance is abated.

This regiment has already four noncommissioned officers on duty in the park to assist the park police in regulating the conduct of soldiers.⁶²

The U.S. Regular Army camp had no designation in compliance with "the practice when the location" of such encampments was "at a conspicuous place on United States land, notably battle fields, such as Gettysburg." By October 1917 the infantry regiments had been "increased by recruits and the camp extended over many acres." Throughout the summer and early fall the recruits drilled until they began being transferred to other camps in late October. By November 26 only a small detachment was stationed on the battlefield.

The military encampment was reestablished at Gettysburg on March 6, 1918, and named Camp Colt under the command of Captain Dwight D. Eisenhower, who would later become President of the United States. The new encampment used the buildings, water system, and drill and parade grounds of the camps established in 1917. The camp, which consisted of some 3,000 men by June 1, was used primarily to train tank units for service in

61. "Report of the Gettysburg National Military Park Commission," 1917, in *Annual Reports of the War Department*, 1917, pp. 997-98.

62. Howard to Nicholson, July 10, 1917, General Correspondence, 1916-1917, GNMP Library.

Europe. By July the camp occupied 176 acres of the Codori farm, 10 acres of the Smith farm, and 6 acres of the Bryan farm.⁶³

By July 1919 nearly all the troops of the tank corps and other military contingents had moved away or been mustered out of service, leaving only a small guard force and the United States property at Gettysburg in charge of the quartermaster's department. On May 24, 1919, the camp equipment, consisting of the buildings, drain, sewer, and water pipes, was sold to the Lewis Wrecking Company of Rock Island, Illinois, the firm being given six months to remove the materials and restore the park lands to their original condition. Among the more serious effects of the military encampment on the park were the destruction of one mile of the Emmitsburg Road by heavy army trucks, damages to numerous culverts, pipe walls, walks, and foundations and construction of nonhistoric structures and utilities such as a concrete swimming pool, water lines, privies, and other buildings.⁶⁴

In July 1920 the Gettysburg commissioners reported that the Camp Colt equipment had been removed but that nothing had been done in terms of restoring the battlefield. Thus a "large area" remained "covered with the debris of the camp" and "several miles of tarvia-covered roads and deep drains running in all directions" marred the "different areas of the battlefield." Tenants of the affected farms filed claims for damages that were heard and reviewed in the park office on April 30.⁶⁵

The commissioners reported in July 1921 that restoration work still had not been carried out by the company. They noted, however, that the

work needed on the Codori Farm has been taken up by the tenant and a large part of this is again under cultivation and planted in the usual farm crops. This

63. "Report of the Gettysburg National Military Park Commission," 1918, in *Annual Reports of the War Department*, 1918, p. 1,472, and Cope's Report, 1918, pp. 8-9, GNMP Library.

64. "Report of the Gettysburg National Military Park Commission, 1919," in *Annual Reports of the War Department* 1919, pp. 5,248-52. While vandalism had been a periodic minor problem in the park prior to the war it appears that such acts became more prevalent during the war years. In 1919, for instance, the commissioners reported:

The guards have been reporting much petty pilfering, principally from the gun carriages in the park at places and times when guards are not in sight and at night. Many small parts of the gun carriages were unscrewed and carried away and have to be constantly renewed, which is troublesome as well as expensive. Some chipping from the granite markers and monuments has also been reported.

65. "Report of the Gettysburg National Military Park Commission," 1920, in *Annual Reports of the War Department*, I, 1,954-55.

was done voluntarily by the tenant, but it will take years to restore it to its original condition, or as it was when taken over for a United States camp.⁶⁶

The park continued to be used for military maneuvers and instructional exercises on a periodical basis during the early postwar years. On October 3-8, 1921, for instance, some 800 men and officers from the Medical Field Service School at Carlisle Barracks, Pennsylvania, used portions of the park for maneuvers as part of the Basic Course for Officers of the Medical Department.⁶⁷

Fiscal year 1921 was the last full year during which Gettysburg was administered by the commission. The Sundry Civil Act of 1912 (37 Stat. 442) provided that as vacancies occurred by death or resignation in the membership of the several commissions in charge of national military parks, they should not be filled. Instead, the Secretary of War designated an ex-officio member with full authority to act with the remaining commissioners. When all offices of commissioner became vacated, the duties of the commission were to be performed under the direction of the Secretary of War. Commissioners Lomax and Richardson died on May 28, 1913, and January 24, 1917, respectively, leaving Nicholson as the sole surviving commissioner. When he died on March 8, 1922, administration of the park passed to the Secretary of War who appointed a superintendent to direct the day-to-day operations of the park.⁶⁸

66. "Annual Report of the Gettysburg National Park Commission, 1921," pp. 10-11, GNMP Library. The encampment area was restored by 1925.

67. Nicholson Journal, 1921, pp. 5-6, GNMP Library.

68. "Report of the Secretary of War, 1922," in *Annual Reports of the Secretary of War, 1922*, p. 107, and Lee, "Origin and Evolution of the National Military Park Idea," p. 45.

CHAPTER VII:
ADMINISTRATION OF GETTYSBURG NATIONAL MILITARY PARK
UNDER THE WAR DEPARTMENT: 1922-1933

Upon the death of Nicholson the Secretary of War appointed Colonel Emmor B. Cope, who had been the park engineer since 1893, as superintendent of Gettysburg National Military Park. While Cope, who was 80 years of age, was in immediate charge of the day-to-day operations of the park, War Department officials took increasing responsibility for policy formulation, planning, and operational procedures – a process that they would continue throughout the 1922-33 period. This method of administration was very different from the 1893-1922 period when the commissioners ran the park largely on an autonomous basis.

In 1922 the Secretary of War reported on the operation of the five national military parks that were being administered directly under the supervision of his office. He noted that the parks had "been maintained in creditable condition throughout the year." Congressional appropriations, however, had

been somewhat less than they were even during the pre-war period and while this economy has been effected without appreciable deterioration to date, it is evident that the road systems of these parks can not be maintained in creditable condition without the expenditure of more money.

A total of \$34,897 had been expended at Gettysburg during fiscal year 1922.¹

Although the annual U.S. Military Academy visits to Gettysburg had been discontinued after the war, various military contingents continued to use the battlefield for study and maneuvers. On June 28, 1922, for instance, some 5,500 U.S. Marines from Quantico, Virginia, under the command of Brigadier General Smedley D. Butler, arrived at the park, and on July 3 staged a reenactment of Pickett's Charge. The charge was first reenacted as it was made in 1863 and then as such a charge would be conducted under existing warfare conditions with modern equipment and maneuvers. A large crowd, including President Warren G. Harding and General of the Armies John J. Pershing, was in attendance to witness the event.²

1. *Annual Report of the Secretary of War, 1922*, pp. 106-07.

2. E. B. Cope, "Gettysburg National Military Park," [1925], p. 12, GNMP Library.

Despite the funding problems at Gettysburg the park continued to be revered by the public as the "American Mecca of Reconciliation." The symbolism and drawing power of Gettysburg were ably described in a popular pictorial booklet in 1922:

No battlefield of the Great Rebellion, none indeed of the world's history, is so visited yearly as is that at Gettysburg. Since the battle thousands of visitors have passed over its historic grounds yearly. But great as has been the influx in the past, it appears as if the tide has only fairly commenced. The near future will behold visitors from every portion of the civilized world in numbers far surpassing what has yet been. There are several reasons for this. Each year deepens the appreciation of the fact that here was decided the fate of a mighty nation; that the struggles on this field was the turning point in the war of the Rebellion, the most remarkable and most important in its effects upon the future. Another reason for the constant increase of visitors is the unsurpassed beauty of the situations and surroundings. The continued and increasing national interest in this American Mecca of Reconciliation, has led to the erection of numerous beautiful monumental memorials of that fierce strife. On no other battlefield of the world will be found so many markers and monuments, showing accurately the position of the various commands of the opposing armies.³

A directive from the Secretary of War on January 31, 1923, transferred supervision of the five national military parks to the Office of the Quartermaster General effective April 1 of that year. The transfer was accompanied by an increase in the appropriations for the park. Total expenditures at Gettysburg for fiscal year 1923 were \$39,577.17.⁴ By the following year expenditures were approaching their prewar levels as \$44,812.75 was spent in the operation and maintenance of the park.⁵

On March 3, 1925, Congress enacted legislation that authorized the Secretary of War to convey to the states federally-owned or controlled approach roads to national cemeteries and national military parks. Investigation had shown that the affected roads had "become parts of community highways, and that their use by the general public was "greatly in excess of that by the national cemetery or national military park to which they appertain." Thus, the

3. J. Warren Gilbert, *The Blue and Gray: A History of the Conflicts During Lee's Invasion and Battle of Gettysburg* ([Gettysburg], 1922), p. 125.

4. *Annual Report of the Secretary of War*, 1923, p. 161.

5. *Annual Report of the Secretary of War*, 1924, p. 172. In 1924 a large delegation from the National War College in Washington, D.C., spent several weeks at Gettysburg, "studying the field and working out a military campaign." Cope, "Gettysburg National Military Park," [1925], p. 12.

legislation provided for the return of "any roads to the State or municipality having jurisdiction over the highway system of which it is a part."⁶

After extensive study it was determined to turn back to the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania portions of a number of park roads at Gettysburg. After the commonwealth passed legislation on May 1, 1925, authorizing the Secretary of Highways to accept the roads a quit claim deed was executed on July 29, returning to the commonwealth those portions of Hagerstown Road, Taneytown Road, Hanover Road, Harrisburg Road, and Carlisle Road which had been ceded to the park by Pennsylvania in 1895. Only about half of the Emmitsburg Road (from Wheatfield Road to South Confederate Avenue) was re-ceded at this time.⁷

In 1925 Superintendent Cope prepared a study entitled "Gettysburg National Military Park" at the request of the War Department. The study detailed the history of the park as well as its features and existing operations. Cope described the size and location of the park:

The area of Gettysburg National Military Park including East Cavalry Field three miles east of the town, and South Cavalry Field about three miles south, is nearly forty square miles. The part lying near to and surrounding Gettysburg on the north, south, east and west covers about twenty-four square miles, and was the scene of the principal engagements on July 1st, 2d and 3d. The government owns a total of 2530 acres; the remainder is held by private owners.

There are eighteen properties within the Park belonging to the government. These are under the supervision of a superintendent, and are leased from year to year to tenants who cultivate the lands and care for the buildings, which are practically the same as at the time of the battle.

Cope also listed the expenditures for development and maintenance of the park through fiscal year 1925. These figures were:

6. U.S. Congress, House, Committee on Military Affairs, *Approach Roads to National Cemeteries and National Military Parks*, 68th Cong., 1st Sess., 1924, H. Rept. 916, p. 1, and Public - No. 536 - 68th Congress, in untitled volume, GNMP Library.

7. Davis to Quartermaster, Headquarters 3rd Corps Area, Baltimore, Md., July 8, 1930, War Department Records, RG 79; No. 260, An Act Authorizing the Secretary of Highways of the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania to accept . . . certain roads . . . located within the limits of the National Park at Gettysburg . . . May 1, 1925, in untitled volume, GNMP Library; and McConaghie to Director, September 21, 1938, Vertical Files, Roads, Avenues, and Right-of-Ways, Folder 3, GNMP Library. On November 7, 1935, Mummasburg Road, extending from the Gettysburg borough limits northwestward 6,325 feet was receded to Pennsylvania. Further data relative to jurisdiction of roads at Gettysburg during 1925-39 may be seen in Moskey to Superintendent, Gettysburg National Military Park (and enclosures) January 11, 1939, Vertical Files, Roads, Avenues, and Right-of-Ways, Folder 3, GNMP Library.

Gettysburg Battlefield Memorial Association	\$580,228.33
Gettysburg National Park Commission	1,901,722.50
By States for State monuments	300,000.00
By Survivors' Associations	176,000.00
By States for equestrian statues	175,000.00
By States for other statues	150,000.00
Total	\$3,381,950.83

The superintendent went on to note that there were 840 monuments on the battlefield. He also delineated the preserved military works and fortifications in the park. These included:

There is a line of earth-works on Culp's Hill which was thrown up by the Union troops of the Twelfth Corps. On East Cemetery Hill there are a number of lunettes at the positions held by the Union batteries. The stone wall along the west side of Hancock Avenue, extending from the Taneytown road to some distance south of the Angle where Armistead crossed it in Pickett's Charge is well preserved and practically the same as at the time of the battle. There are some stone walls on the south side of Little Round Top that were erected and used by the Union forces. At the base of Big Round Top there are long lines of stone walls that were erected and used by the Confederates. Along Seminary Ridge there is a long line of stone wall that was used by the Confederates and is well preserved. The boulders in the vicinity of Devil's Den and the Round Tops afforded natural defences for both Armies. A line of earth-works on South Hancock Avenue is still in good condition.

In concluding the study Cope described visitation to the park. During fiscal year 1925 it was estimated that more than 1,000,000 persons had visited the park via railroad or automobile:

Gettysburg has two railroads; the Philadelphia and Reading, and the Western Maryland; both of which afford good service from all points. Besides, Gettysburg is unusually well supplied with highways. Ten roads radiate from the town much like the spokes from the hub of a wheel, and these afford ample approaches from the north, south, east and west. The Lincoln Highway coming via the Chambersburg Pike and running out via the York Pike, gives a through route from west to east, and the Harrisburg Road affords another to the State Capital. The Emmitsburg Road runs south-west to Emmitsburg, and thence to Frederick and the National Capital. The Baltimore Pike is a through route to Baltimore and the south. The Hanover Road runs to Hanover on the east. There are also the Taneytown and the Hagerstown Roads, the latter the line of General Lee's retreat.⁸

During the 1920s Gettysburg park management received criticism for the condition of the area. In December 1925, for instance, an article appeared in the *Harrisburg Telegraph*

8. Cope, "Gettysburg National Military Park," [1925], pp. 2-3, 10, 13, 17, 19.

criticizing conditions in the park. The writer stated that the park landscape was marred by gasoline stations and quick lunch or "hot dog" stands, the roads which had been returned to the commonwealth were in deplorable condition, and Meade's Headquarters building was a fire hazard. In response Superintendent Cope submitted a rebuttal to Major L. W. Redington who forwarded the information to Sydney P. Hollingsworth of United Press:

(a) There are no gasoline stations on the Gettysburg National Military Park reservation.

(b) There are no quick lunch or "hot dog" stands nor any other stands on any of the Gettysburg National Military Park reservations.

(c) There are a number of gasoline pumps and lunch stations on privately owned land adjacent to or near National Park land. No complaint has been made by any one to the superintendent as to their management being detrimental to traffic. The one shown in the newspaper clipping is located on the Chambersburg Pike (a part of the Lincoln Highway) and is within approximately 75 feet of the Reynolds statue. This stand to a certain extent obstructs the view of the monument to persons coming to the park from the west. This objection has however been eliminated to a certain extent by the owner moving it back by direction of the superintendent a distance of 50 feet from its first location.

(d) There is a similar stand at the intersection of Howard Avenue and the Harrisburg road. It is within a few feet of the United States line but does not obstruct the view of any monuments.

(e) Another is opposite the west side of the National Cemetery, in the residence of the owner, which is adjacent to United States land at the entrance to Hancock Avenue.

(f) There is a stand on West Confederate Avenue within about 20 feet of the United States line; also one along the Taneytown Road about 60 feet from United States land. All of these are on private land, and it is hardly seen how they can be eliminated so long as they are conducted in an orderly manner. These roads, with the exception of West Confederate Avenue, are all under the jurisdiction of the Pennsylvania State Highway Department and if any action can be taken, it seems it would have to be by the State.

(g) With reference to the roads: All of the roads taken back by the State have all been placed in first class condition; and as for the Avenues within the park, they never were in better condition.

(h) As to the Meade's Headquarters building: It is in practically the same condition as it was at the time of the battle. There are no fire hazards and the superintendent considers it much safer in the hands of a careful tenant than to leave it vacant. It has been under lease continuously since the

establishment of the park and there has never been a single accident by fire. The chimney is kept in good repair.⁹

During the years 1925-27 Gettysburg continued to be administered under the Office of the Quartermaster General. Appropriations for these years were:

1925	\$54,200
1926	\$53,600
1927	\$53,600 ¹⁰

The sections of the appropriations acts relating to Gettysburg for these years were all virtually identical to that in the act for fiscal year 1928 which appropriated \$53,026 for the park:

For continuing the establishment of the park; surveys, and maps; constructing, improving, and maintaining avenues, roads, and bridges thereon; fences and gates; marking the lines of battle with tablets and guns, each tablet bearing a brief legend giving historic facts and compiled without censure and without praise; preserving the features of the battle field and the monuments thereon; compensation of superintendent, clerical and other services, expenses, and labor; purchase and preparation of tablets and gun carriages and placing them in position; maintenance, repair, and operation of a motor-propelled passenger-carrying vehicle.¹¹

Beginning in 1926 the War Department issued regulations requiring that guides submit quarterly reports of their operations to the Superintendent of Guides of the park. William C. Storrick, a long-time park employee, was named to that post and was instructed to prepare consolidated reports. Among the first reports that he issued was that for April 1-June 30, 1927. In this report Storrick provided the following statistics:

Total number of licensed guides,	98
Number operating during quarter,	90
" of tourists with guides,	31,138
" of trips of 2 hrs. or more,	7,238
" " " less than 2 hrs.,	503
Total number of trips,	7,741

9. Redington to Hollingsworth, December 24, 1925, and Cope to Redington, December 22, 1925, War Department Records, RG 79.

10. *Annual Report of the Secretary of War, 1925*, p. 163; *Annual Report of the Secretary of War, 1926*, p. 245; and *Annual Report of the Secretary of War, 1927*, p. 215.

11. [Public – No. 630 – 69th Congress], [H. R. 16249], An Act Making Appropriations for the Military and Nonmilitary Activities of the War Department for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1928, and for other purposes, Old History Division Files, History Division, Cultural Resource Management, Washington Office, National Park Service. Hereinafter, these records will be referred to as Old History Division Files, WASO.

The total number of tourists with guides during the corresponding period of last year was 30,113. This shows a gain of 1,025 for this year. Estimating the total number of tourists for the Quarter ending June 30th 1927, on the basis of 5 tourists without guides to 1 with a guide, the approximate total for the Quarter is 155,690.¹²

During 1927-28 the War Department took renewed steps to regulate the guide service at Gettysburg. On December 1, 1927, a new "Schedule of Rates and Regulations for Guide Service" was approved, and on January 28, 1928, a War Department circular was issued providing specifications for "Guide Uniforms" (later amended on July 10, 1930). A recommended itinerary for park tours was issued for the use of the guides on March 1, 1928. The War Department also began a system in 1927 whereby licensed guides were issued official business cards to give to tourists.¹³

Upon the death of Superintendent Cope on May 27, 1927, James B. Aumen, assistant superintendent, took over as acting park superintendent until June 27. On that date Colonel E. E. Davis was appointed as superintendent. A native of Iowa, Davis had served with the Quartermaster Corps in France during 1917-18 and was discharged at Camp Dix, New Jersey, on November 9, 1919. He was commissioned "Lt. Col. Q. M. Res." on January 21, 1920, and was later promoted to the rank of colonel.¹⁴ The death of Cope meant that park administration had passed from the last survivor of the generation of early War Department appointees who had dedicated their lives to the preservation and development of the battlefield.

An inspection of Gettysburg National Military Park was conducted on February 1 and August 8, 1929. The land area of the reservation was listed as 2,530.32 acres, 45 of which were roads. Total land costs for the park were listed as \$207,285.46 or \$89.07 per acre. The inspection report included an inventory and cost appraisal of farms, buildings, and improvements in the park.

12. Storrick to Quartermaster General, U.S.A, July 28, 1927, War Department Records, RG 79. According to subsequent tourist reports the total estimated yearly visitation to the park was 1926-829,560; 1927-810,047; 1928-957,929; 1929-725,750; 1930-610,195; and 1931-504,270. Storrick to Quartermaster General, January 24, 1929, and January 29, 1930, and Barber to Quartermaster, Third Corps Area, Baltimore, Md., October 20, 1932, War Department Records, RG 79.

13. Copies of these three documents may be seen in Appendix P. The battlefield guides formed the Battlefield Guide Association in 1927 and adopted bylaws on November 25. The purpose of the organization was to protect the interests of the guides and provide for the improvement of guide service. "By-Laws of the Battlefield Guide Association, Gettysburg, Pa.," November 25, 1927, War Department Records, RG 79.

14. "Historical Narrative of the Battles of Gettysburg Prepared By William C. Storrick, Supt. of Guides, June-September 1930," GNMP Library.

In September 1929 a board of War Department officers, led by Colonel W. R. Gibson of the Quartermaster Corps was appointed to study "the question of marking more in detail the battle lines at Gettysburg." President Herbert Hoover, after visiting the battlefield, had voiced the need for such detailed marking. At its first meeting the board "discussed the several methods already adopted to make the battlefield known to the non-technical visitor." These included:

There are eleven (11) corps markers, thirty four (34) division markers, one hundred and fifty seven (157) brigade markers, twelve (12) headquarters markers, and nine (9) hospital markers. Each marker contains a narrative of events pertaining to a particular unit.

Four hundred and seventeen (417) guns have been placed to show the positions of batteries. In each battery position there is a tablet giving the name of the battery and a brief description of its operations.

One hundred and ninety four (194) tablets give the names of the forty seven (47) avenues.

Eight hundred and forty four (844) monuments have been erected by States and organizations.

There are two (2) series of large bronze tablets outlining the itinerary of the armies.

Five (5) observation towers provide opportunities to view large expanses of terrain.¹⁵

Before deciding upon a more detailed method of marking the battle lines the board sent one of its members, Lieutenant Colonel H. L. Landers of the Historical Section of the Army War College, to Gettysburg. Landers spent several days on the battlefield in mid-September and submitted a report with his ideas to Colonel Gibson on September 17. Accordingly, Landers recommended that \$3,500 "be asked for in appropriations for fiscal year 1931" so that "a mile of line [could] be marked at once on the battlefield of July 1," where the First Corps and A. P. Hill's Corps fought, and on West Confederate Avenue.¹⁶

At a second meeting of the board on September 25, it was determined to adopt Landers' recommendations. In its report to the Assistant Secretary of War the board stated:

15. Gibson to Gerow, September 26, 1929, War Department Records, RG 79.

16. Landers to Gibson, September 17, 1929, War Department Records, RG 79.

. . . while monuments, markers, tablets, and roads have their value in enabling the tourist to visualize the scenes of battle, none of these things indicates to him a line of battle. It is believed that if the casual observer can be helped to see more effectively, by placing some additional devices in the park, that device should be installed. By casual observer is meant ninety five percent of tourists who drive through the park without stopping, acquiring such knowledge as they can by hasty glances at monuments and markers. Several proposed methods for marking were discussed by the Board, and the one which was unanimously favored is as follows:

To erect a line of wire to mark the line of an important position. The line to consist of a ribbon of wire three inches wide, which will be specially woven, and without being at all solid, will present an appearance of solidity and visibility when placed on the roadway, or fifty to one hundred yards therefrom. The ribbon of wire will be supported on concrete pillars set fifty feet apart, eight inches square at the base, five inches at the top, and extending two and a half feet above ground. On top of each concrete pillar will be a marker which will give the tourist information as to what organization a particular part of the line represents, and when the organization was there. This can be told him by using large letters and few words, making the marker readable from a moving car.¹⁷

The condition of the Gettysburg battlefield again received attention in September 1929 as the result of criticism by the Sixty-Third National Encampment of the Grand Army of the Republic. Meeting in Portland, Maine, on September 11-12 that organization passed a resolution that read in part:

Some years ago the Gettysburg Battlefield was conveyed to the Federal government. It is not being properly maintained and preserved, and the great memorial erected by the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania is in such a neglected condition that it is only a matter of a few years until the disintegration [sic] will take place, due to this neglect, while other conditions are not in harmony with the reverence and respect that is due to this sacred spot, consecrated by the brave men, living and dead, who struggled there in a great cause. . . .

Therefore be it Resolved, That we, The Grand Army of the Republic, in Encampment assembled, do hereby protest against the neglect of the Gettysburg Battlefield on the part of the Federal government, and do hereby respectfully remind the government of its duty and obligation in this matter.¹⁸

17. Gibson to Gerow, September 26, 1929, and Gibson to Assistant Secretary of War, October 5, 1929, War Department Records, RG 79. Instead of waiting for 1931 appropriations the board requested that available funds for fiscal year 1930 be used for the line. Despite favorable initial response from War Department officials, however, the plan was never implemented.

18. Foster to Hoover, October 8, 1929, War Department Records, RG 79.

The resolution was sent to President Hoover on October 8, and the matter was referred to the Secretary of War. Upon receipt of the resolution the secretary responded by describing the history of problems associated with the Pennsylvania Monument:

Since the commission completed the work of establishing the park, a considerable number of monuments have been erected and care has been exercised by the War Department to assure that these monuments were properly placed and were appropriate in design. Among such monuments is the Pennsylvania Memorial, a large marble memorial building erected by the State of Pennsylvania to commemorate the services of the soldiers of Pennsylvania who participated in the battle. . . . when completed [it] was not accepted by the Federal Government due to faulty construction which permitted the accumulation of water in the roof after heavy rains. It was accepted by the War Department in 1923, and since that time various efforts have been made to correct the defects. None of these efforts have been wholly successful and no plan has yet been evolved which offers a reasonable promise of correcting the faulty construction. The memorial is lined with heavy iron, painted grey, and the accumulation of moisture has rusted this iron until it has become quite unsightly. To improve the appearance of the interior, an item was included in the War Department budget for the fiscal year 1930 for replacing the rusty iron lining with heavy copper plating and this work is now in progress.

Nevertheless, the secretary promised to have the matter fully investigated.¹⁹

Upon hearing of the resolution the Gettysburg Chamber of Commerce sent a letter to President Hoover, hoping "to correct any impression that may have been formed that the battlefield in general is not in good physical condition and to state exactly those conditions that are faulty and require attention." The letter which was complimentary of War Department management of the park, stated in part:

In our personal experience, which covers a period of ten years, we have never seen the National Park in as good a condition as it has been brought to this year. The cleaned monuments, painted cannons and fence posts and shined bronze tablets all combine to present spic and span evidence of good order.

The program of road construction and gutter concreting for the year is now almost entirely completed, making the road conditions on the battlefields far better than at any previous time.

The condition of what is known as the Mummasburg road and the Wheatfield road – each of them less than a mile in length and in very bad condition-inspire criticism, however. These two roads belong to the

19. Hurley to the President, October 9, 1929, War Department Records, RG 79.

Government, but being used jointly for battlefield and highway traffic, we understand do not therefore come within the annual budget for the maintenance of the National Park nor were they included in the special appropriation for the construction of battlefield avenues. The same condition existed several years ago on similar highways but these roads were turned back to the Pennsylvania State Highway Department, which department has since rebuilt and maintained them.²⁰

An investigation of conditions in the park and the Pennsylvania Monument was conducted by Lieutenant Colonel H. C. Merriam on November 1-2, 1929. As a result of his investigation, Merriam informed the Inspector General of his findings:

Pennsylvania State Monument: The stairway and upper chamber under the dome are constantly damp, caused by condensation due to structural design, which cannot be corrected without extensive structural changes in the upper part of the monument at an estimated cost of \$5,000.

A galvanized iron lining placed in the stairway and upper chamber about 1922 had rusted and had become unsightly about 1925. This iron lining was replaced by a copper lining by the Federal Government, which was completed Oct. 26, 1929, and now presents a very creditable appearance.

The outside of this monument and its surroundings are in good condition with the exception of the organization plates of bronze around the base of the monument and the large ball just underneath the statue on top of the monument, which are covered with a reddish corrosion and do not compare favorably with the other bronze plates and monuments in the park.

Roads: All roads in the park proper are now in excellent condition. The two short pieces of road which connect parts of the park and add to facility in making a tour of the battlefield, known as the Mummasburg and Wheatfield Roads, were in bad condition up to the last month, and caused much criticism. These two roads have been placed in a fair condition during the last month by temporary repairs, but funds allotted for this purpose will not provide a permanent road suitable for automobile travel. The superintendent estimates it would cost approximately \$16,000 to place these two roads in question in a condition similar to the roads in the park. . . .

The general appearance of the monuments, markers, cannon, fences and other ornamentation in the Gettysburg National Park is excellent except the bronze organization plates and the large ball underneath the statue on the top of Pennsylvania monument.

The park is well policed and the woods, shrubbery and grass are well kept, and the roads are in excellent condition.

20. Scharf to Hoover, October 13, 1929, War Department Records, RG 79.

There is no condition in the park at the present time that is not in harmony with the reverence and respect that are due this sacred spot.

In addition to these conclusions Merriam made two recommendations. First, the bronze organizational plates and the large ball underneath the statue on top of the Pennsylvania Monument should be cleaned and kept in good condition. Second, the Mummasburg Road, extending from Howard Avenue to Buford Avenue, and the Wheatfield Road, extending from Emmitsburg Road to Confederate Avenue, should be placed in a similar condition to other park roads.²¹

On July 1, 1930, administrative control of the national military parks and cemeteries was transferred from the Quartermaster Corps depots to the commanding generals of the corps areas under the Quartermaster General in which they were located. This transfer placed the park and cemetery at Gettysburg under the Commanding General, 3rd Corps Area, based in Baltimore, Maryland.²²

Superintendent Davis submitted data on the park operations to the Quartermaster, Headquarters 3rd Corps Area, in Baltimore on July 8, 1930. On the eighteen government-owned farms in the park there were fourteen houses, fifteen barns, and sixty-two other buildings. The park also had seven guard shelters, three toilets, one storage building, and one garage, all of which were "in fair to good state of repair." Rentals from leases of park lands for agricultural purposes totaled \$2,255 for the year. There were 22.5 miles of improved park roads of telford or macadam construction surfaced with tar or asphalt and stone chips, all of which were "generally in good condition." The park staff, all of whom were in civil service status, included a superintendent, one assistant superintendent, one forester, one junior typist, one messenger, five guards, two concrete builders, two painters, one paver, one stone cutter, one stone mason, and twenty laborers.²³

Personnel records for Gettysburg National Military Park are available for the period from November 1930 to June 1932. The records indicate that between November 1930 and

21. "Investigation of Conditions At Gettysburg National Park, Gettysburg, Pa., Made by Lieut. Col. H. C. Merriam, I.G.D., Nov. 1-2, 1929," War Department Records, RG 79.

22. See *National Cemetery Regulations*, War Department, Approved and Published By Authority of the Secretary of War, Office of the Quartermaster General, March 9, 1931 (Washington, 1931), and *National Military Park, National Park, Battlefield Site and National Monument Regulations*, War Department, Approved and Published by Authority of the Secretary of War, Office of the Quartermaster General, October 6, 1931 (Washington, 1931) for data on the operation and administration of national military parks and cemeteries during this period.

23. Davis to Quartermaster, Headquarters 3rd Corps Area, Baltimore, Md., July 8, 1930, War Department Records, RG 79.

March 1931 the number of civilian personnel at the park was 35. The number of employees increased to 37 in April 1931 and to 40 in May 1931 but was reduced to 34 in June. Civilian personnel remained at that figure until December when it dropped to 33. The number of employees was reduced to 31 in March 1932, but then increased to 35 in April. Four employees left the park in June 1932, leaving the park labor force at 31. The records indicate that all employees were men.²⁴

The state of the nation's shattered economy had repercussions on Gettysburg park developments during the early 1930s. In March, funds became available for improvements in Gettysburg National Military Park under President Herbert Hoover's emergency program to relieve unemployment. More than \$45,000 was made immediately available to carry out various repairs to roads, monuments, tablets, and fences.²⁵

Despite the onset of the depression, Gettysburg continued to attract large numbers of visitors. In July 1931 *National Geographic* published a well-illustrated article on Gettysburg, entitled "The Most Famous Battle Field In America." Commenting on the heavy park visitation the article stated:

As we motor along the avenues that mark the battle lines, now pause in reverence before this and that monument erected on the field; now visit the earthworks of a famous corps, division, or brigade; now climb one or another of the five steel observation towers for a broader sweep of the terrain, we understand why this is the most widely known of all the battle fields of America, attracting more than 800,000 visitors annually.²⁶

During the years 1931-33 there was considerable controversy at Gettysburg concerning the location of guide stations and the relationships among the guides, merchants, local citizens, tourists, and park officials. After a series of complaints relating to these issues reached the War Department, Lieutenant Colonel James H. Laubach investigated the matter in August 1931. Among his findings were the following:

That the Guide Association as an association is well run, and is of specific help to the Superintendent of the Park. The activities of this organization must be thoroughly watched by the Superintendent.

24. Gettysburg Monthly Reports of Civilian Personnel, November 1930-June 1932, War Department Records, RG 79.

25. Ball to Superintendent, Gettysburg National Military Park, March 9, 1931, War Department Records, RG 79. President Hoover delivered the Memorial Day address at Gettysburg in 1930.

26. "The Most Famous Battle Field In America," *National Geographic*, LX (July, 1931), 66, 75.

That the guides are located all over the city and in many instances make a nuisance of themselves, and many cars stop because they believe a uniformed guide to be a State Policeman. . . .

That probably there is some soliciting being done on the part of the guides, and that trade may be thrown to some business houses at the expense of others.

That idle gossip in the city of Gettysburg is rife, and there is little justification for much of it. However, much of this would not be so prevalent were Gettysburg a larger city, and if less attention were paid to the complaints that are made.

That the Assistant Superintendent of the Park, against whom complaints have been made, is a valuable employee to the Government.

That no complaints are made against the Superintendent of the Park; in fact, the city is well satisfied with his administration and any change at this time would be unwelcome.

That a sufficient supervision over the individual guides is not had by the Park Superintendent.

Accordingly, Laubach recommended that the guides "be assembled in one prominent, central location in the city and that all tourists be required to obtain their guides from such location." There should

be qualified personnel in charge of this office in order to insure proper charge being made, and the proper time being given to tourists, and the guide business being properly distributed. Were this done, most of the complaints could be eliminated.

The park superintendent should be given authority to organize and administer the central office.²⁷

The recommendations by Laubach were never implemented, and another study of the proper location of the various guide stations in the Gettysburg National Military Park was conducted by Colonel H. L. Landers of the Historical Section, Army War College, in October 1931.²⁸ Among the recommendations made by Landers, which were approved by the Assistant Secretary of War on November 4, were markers for guide houses and guide posts:

27. Laubach to Quartermaster General, August 29, 1931, War Department Records, RG 79. The licensed battlefield guides had been put in uniform in 1928.

28. Hughes to Quartermaster General, October 29, 1931, War Department Records, RG 79.

Persons who travel the highways are confronted with innumerable signs, many of which are difficult to read when motoring thirty to fifty miles an hour. When a sign is noted that imparts information in which the tourist may be interested, the best results are obtained when the letters are large, and the words few in number. Signs should be placed a sufficient distance in advance of the place where action is to be taken, to give the observer of it an opportunity to confer with other persons in the automobile and learn their wishes. A second and third sign are necessary to insure that the tourist reads at least one of them, and to indicate that the place to take action is being approached. . . .

A set of these signs should be placed on each of the ten highways entering Gettysburg. Where Guide Houses are established on the roads the distances should refer to the houses. Where there is only a Guide Post on the road, the distances should refer to the post. Where there is no Guide Station of any kind on the road, the distances should refer to the square in Gettysburg.²⁹

The recommendations by Landers were implemented, with several exceptions, by the Quartermaster, Third Corps Area, on November 27. On that date an order was issued establishing locations for guide stations and appropriate signing to become effective immediately. Existing stations at the following locations would be continued: Emmitsburg Road; Hagerstown Road near Reynolds Avenue; Chambersburg Pike just west of Stone Avenue; Harrisburg Road near the junction with the road leading to the hill on which was located Jones' Artillery battalion; and near the junction of York Pike and Hanover Road. New stations were to be established at the junction of Carlisle Road and Harrisburg Road (Lincoln Avenue), on Baltimore Pike a short distance south of its intersection with Hunt Avenue, on the west side of Taneytown Road just south of its junction with Hancock Avenue, and on Center Square in Gettysburg.³⁰

Some eleven months later J. Frank Barber, the new park superintendent who entered on duty on August 24, 1932, reported on the guide situation at Gettysburg. After conducting a number of interviews he reported on October 19:

That the situation here at Gettysburg National Military Park regarding the relationship between the citizens, the merchants, the tourists and the Guides has been improved.

29. "Report Covering Proposed Locations of the Guide Posts and Guide Stations, Gettysburg National Military Park, Approved by the Assistant Secretary of War, November 4, 1931," War Department Records, RG 79.

30. Order, Quartermaster, Third Corps Area, November 27, 1931, War Department Records, RG 79. See Landers to Jones, January 22, 1932, War Department Records, RG 79, for a discussion of the exceptions made to Landers' recommendations.

That constant observation and closer contact by the Superintendent is necessary in order to make further improvements and maintain proper relationships between the several elements.

That as a body and to a large per cent the Guides are satisfactory and while there may be a few who are inclined to short change, cut corners, attempt boycotting, etc., this can be corrected and possibly eliminated by attaining a closer and proper relationship between the Superintendent and the Guides Association. . . .

That for many obvious reasons it is not practical to centralize the Guides. . . .

That the Guide service can be further developed and improved by proper and closer contact between the Superintendent and the Guides.³¹

In 1932 War Department officials were instrumental in placing the position of superintendent of Gettysburg National Military Park under Civil Service classification. An examination was held and James R. McConaghie, architect, was appointed on February 7, 1933. The War Department began developing plans for a park superintendent's residence, and in early 1933 the Public Works Administration (PWA) allotted \$15,000 for such a structure. The job was being readied for contract when it was learned that the park was to be transferred to the Department of the Interior. Hence the project was dropped.³²

On March 2, 1933, Congress passed legislation providing for the protection of national military parks, national parks, battlefield sites, national monuments, and miscellaneous memorials under the jurisdiction of the War Department. The law authorized the Secretary of War "to prescribe and publish such regulations" as he deemed necessary "for the proper government and protection" of such areas. Violations of the regulations would be considered as misdemeanors punishable by fines up to \$100 or imprisonment up to three months. Commissioners, superintendents, caretakers, officers, and guards in such areas were authorized to make arrests for violations of the regulations and to take the offenders before the nearest United States commissioner, judge, or court having jurisdiction on the premises.

31. Barber to Quartermaster, Third Corps Area, Baltimore, Md., October 19, 1932, War Department Records, RG 79.

32. McConaghie to Director, National Park Service, December 20, 1939, File No. 620, Gettysburg National Military Park, Central Classified Files, RG 79. Hereinafter, these files will be referred to as Gettysburg, CCF, RG 79.

Pursuant to the legislation, the Secretary of War issued new regulations on June 1, a copy of which may be seen in Appendix Q.³³

The annual report by Superintendent McConaghie for fiscal year 1933 describes park operations during its last year under the administration of the War Department. During that year North Confederate, Buford, Howard, West Confederate, Hancock, Sedgwick, and Hunt avenues and portions of Wheatfield Road were resurfaced. Replacement of wooden fence posts in the pipe fences with concrete posts was continued and wooden posts for replacements in the post and rail fences were purchased. A stone combination comfort station and guard shelter was erected near the Pennsylvania Monument. Reforestation and landscape projects were carried out with seedlings obtained from the Pennsylvania Department of Forests and Waters and trees provided by the Pennsylvania Department of Highways. The speed limit in the park was raised from ten to twenty miles per hour. Visitation to the park was estimated to be 305,540, some 33 percent less than the 461,260 visitors who had entered the park in fiscal year 1932.³⁴

33. For more data on this subject, see U.S. Congress, Senate, Committee on Military Affairs, *Protection of National Military Parks, National Parks, Battlefield Sites, and National Monuments*, 72d Cong., 2d Sess., 1933, S. Rept. 1027, pp. 1-2, and U.S. Congress, House, Committee on Military Affairs, *Protection of National Military Parks, National Parks, Battle Sites, National Monuments, and Miscellaneous Memorials Under the Control of the War Department*, 72d Cong., 2d Sess., 1933, H. Rept. 2091, pp. 1-2.

34. McConaghie to Quartermaster, Third Corps Area, Baltimore, MD., July 12, 1933, War Department Records, RG 79.

CHAPTER VIII:
ADMINISTRATION OF GETTYSBURG NATIONAL MILITARY PARK AND
CEMETERY UNDER THE NATIONAL PARK SERVICE: 1933-1941

TRANSFER OF WAR DEPARTMENT MILITARY PARKS TO THE
NATIONAL PARK SERVICE: 1933

Administration of Gettysburg National Military Park and Gettysburg National Cemetery was transferred from the War Department to the Department of the Interior by Executive Order 6166 issued on June 10, 1933. The executive order, which provided for a major reorganization of the executive branch of government, was the culmination of a seventeen-year campaign to consolidate administration of all federal parks and monuments under the National Park Service.

By 1933 the War Department administered what was, in effect, a national military park system. The system consisted of four different types of units – eleven national military parks, twelve national battlefield sites, two national parks, and three miscellaneous memorials. The 1931 War Department regulations for military parks and monuments indicated that the areas were set aside to provide "inspirational value to future generations," and to provide "visitors with the opportunity to study the military actions that had taken place there." The latter was not interpreted to mean the casual visitor, however. The primary purpose behind establishment of military parks had always been to set aside those areas that would serve as outdoor textbooks in strategy and battle tactics for serious students of military science. As such, the battlefields were to be maintained as nearly as possible as they were when the battles were fought.

From the perspective of the National Park Service, which was established by Congressional legislation in 1916, the War Department's administration of its parks and monuments was inadequate. It had not resulted in proper protection of the areas, nor had the War Department made an effort to develop an adequate program for the visiting public. The department had produced no literature to help visitors, and the paid guides that were available generally had little expertise.

With passage of the National Park Service enabling act in 1916 Horace Albright, as acting director of the bureau, emerged as the leader of the campaign to consolidate administration of the national parks and monuments then under the Departments of War, Agriculture, and the Interior. Prior to 1916 the campaign had been directed largely toward

consolidating administration of the national monuments under one agency. Albright, on the other hand, would be concerned primarily with transferring the national military parks and battlefields under the jurisdiction of the War Department to the National Park Service.¹

Albright lost little time in undertaking a publicity campaign aimed at securing transfer of the military parks. In the first annual report of the director of the National Park Service, Albright outlined his views in a section entitled, "National Parks in the War Department, Too":

This discussion brings me to a similar question that deserves consideration soon. It has arisen numerous times during the past year when this Service has been requested for information regarding the military national parks – where they are located, how they are reached, what trips to them would cost, etc. The question is whether these parks should not also be placed under this Department in order that they may be administered as a part of the national park system. The interesting features of each of these parks are their historic associations although several of them possess important scenic qualities. Many of the monuments and at least three of the national parks were established to preserve the ruins of structures that have historic associations of absorbing interest, or to mark the scene of an important event in history.²

Each succeeding annual report included some similar statement.

During the 1920s War Department officials generally supported the Park Service's efforts to effect the transfer of areas under their jurisdiction, largely because they were concerned over the expense generated in their administration. When Senator Gerald P. Nye of North Dakota introduced S. 4173 in 1928 the bill, which went further than previous efforts by proposing to transfer all military parks, national parks, and national monuments from the War Department to the Department of the Interior, stirred up strong opposition among certain elements in Congress. Members of the House Committee on Military Affairs, for instance, believed that the purpose of areas administered by the two departments was so different – the War Department areas for military instruction and memorialization while the National Park Service's areas were "pleasuring grounds" – that one agency could not possibly be

1. U.S. Department of the Interior, National Park Service, *Administrative History: Expansion of the National Park Service in the 1930s*, by Harlan D. Unrau and G. Frank Williss, September 1983, pp. 36-41, 46. More data on Albright's seventeen-year campaign may be found in pp. 46-59 of this report and in Horace M. Albright, *Origins of National Park Service Administration of Historic Sites* (Philadelphia, 1971), pp. 1-24.

2. *Annual Report of the Director of the National Park Service, 1917*, p. 6.

equipped to deal with both. Committee members were particularly concerned that the transfer would lead to civilian control of military cemeteries.³

The Nye bill failed to pass Congress as did subsequent efforts to transfer the military parks to the National Park Service during the administration of President Herbert Hoover. On January 27, 1932, a bill (H.R. 8502) was introduced, again calling for transfer of national military parks and national monuments from the War Department to the Department of the Interior. While the bill did not pass, a National Park Service position paper developed on March 5, 1932, on the proposed legislation is illustrative of the views and intentions of the Park Service relative to the transfer of the War Department reserves:

It is undoubtedly true that the merit of these reserves varies very widely. Battle areas like Gettysburg, and Chickamauga, Fredericksburg and Antietam are of unusual military significance. Then too, the kind and amount of development of the various reserves represents several extremes. Gettysburg, a great battle area, is marked with all sorts of questionable monuments. It is literally "monumented" almost to the cemetery – or graveyard – condition. Our problem in any future development of physical features is serious. We might have to forego for many years making any changes due to the considerable influences that are back of the present situation. Our attention might first be given to the improvement of the guide service, and in the handling of visitors. . . .

The best of the military parks get appropriations comparing favorably with those we receive for Colonial National Monument and Mesa Verde National Park. The amounts thus received are expended for the ordinary care and upkeep of the physical plant, and for personnel. The permanent personnel is invariably small, in one or two cases as much as 12, in most cases less than 6. The activity is largely protective, but some attention is given to making the reserves available for visitation. Practically nothing is done which corresponds to our educational work, and it is in that field that we are best able to justify a transfer to the National Park Service.

Sentiment has been growing for some time in favor of the proposed transfer. The Department of the Interior and the War Department are both officially committed to the plan. With sentiment in the House Military committee now apparently favorable to us, for the first time we are likely to win the House. The likelihood of the bill's passing therefore is distinctly good.

Finally it should be suggested that the War Department has agreed to the measure with two reservations. In the first place it does not want the inherent military nature of the battlefield parks or monuments to be lost sight of, in any plan of future development. In the second place, they ask that the

3. *Transfer of National Military Parks: Hearings Before the Committee on Military Affairs, House of Representatives, Seventeenth Congress, Second Session on S.4173 . . . Thursday, January 31, 1929 (Washington, 1929), pp. 2-23.*

records of the War Department be kept intact, and the large work connected with the initial investigation and study of battlefield areas be performed by the War Department for the advice and subsequent use of the Department of the Interior. It would not be feasible for the National Park Service, as now administered, to handle this fine tooth research work, to which men like Colonel Landers have contributed so much. Therefore our policy is that of consenting to both reservations, without reservation, thereby avoiding all pitfalls by argument.⁴

When Franklin D. Roosevelt became president in 1933 he set up a committee to develop recommendations for reorganization of the executive branch of government. Albright, who had become Director of the National Park Service in 1929, submitted to the reorganization committee proposals that were similar to those supported by the National Park Service since 1916. As a result of the reorganization committee's efforts Executive Order 6166, issued on June 10, 1933, and effective sixty days later, dealt with a wide range of agencies and functions. Section 2 spoke directly to the National Park Service (which was renamed Office of National Parks, Buildings, and Reservations):

All functions of administration of public buildings, reservations, national parks, national monuments, and national cemeteries are consolidated in an Office of National Parks, Buildings, and Reservations in the Department of the Interior, at the head of which shall be a Director of National Parks, Buildings, and Reservations; except that where deemed desirable there may be excluded from this provision any public building or reservation which is chiefly employed as a facility in the work of a particular agency. This transfer and consolidation of functions shall include, among others, those of the National Park Service of the Department of the Interior and the National Cemeteries and Parks of the War Department which are located within the continental limits of the United States. National cemeteries located in foreign countries shall be transferred to the Department of State, and those located in insular possessions under the jurisdiction of the War Department shall be administered by the Bureau of Insular Affairs of the War Department.⁵

Section 19 provided for the transfer of records and personnel, and Section 20 provided that unexpended appropriations be transferred.

4. Memorandum of the Proposed Transfer of Military Parks and Monuments for the Use of the Director in Connection with the Superintendents' Conference as Required by His Memorandum of March 5, 1932, Old History Division Files, WASO.

5. U.S. Congress, House, *Message from the President of the United States Transmitting an Executive Order for Certain Regroupings, Consolidations, Transfers, and Abolitions of Executive Agencies and Functions Thereof*, 73d Cong., 1st Sess., 1933, H. Doc. 69, pp. 2-3. The agency name "National Park Service" was restored by the Act of March 2, 1934 (48 Stat. 389).

Even before the executive order was officially released, Albright was dissatisfied with some of its provisions. He argued that Arlington and other national cemeteries still open for burial should remain under the jurisdiction of the War Department, that only those buildings that were clearly monumental in character should be transferred, that the Fine Arts Commission and National Capital Park and Planning Commission should remain independent, and that the name "National Park Service" should be retained.⁶ On July 28, largely as a result of Albright's efforts, President Roosevelt issued Executive Order 6228 that clarified Section 2 of Executive Order 6166. This document "postponed until further order" transfer of Arlington and other cemeteries still open for burial, while leaving the cemeteries associated with historical areas in the soon-to-be Office of National Parks, Buildings, and Reservations.⁷ In addition, Albright was able to secure separation of the National Capital Park and Planning Commission and Fine Arts Commission, save for some administrative functions.⁸

Within a week of the issuance of Executive Order 6228 a conference was held between a representative of the Director of the National Park Service and Quartermaster General John L. Dewitt to determine what functions the Quartermaster General would retain with respect to the national cemeteries to be transferred to the National Park Service. The policy determined upon at the conference specified that the Office of the Quartermaster General would continue to perform seven activities in connection with the administration of these national cemeteries:

- (1) Telegraphic requests from superintendents for authority to inter remains in the national cemeteries – verify service and authorize interments. Action direct to and from OQMG.
- (2) Have monthly reports of interment submitted by superintendents and take action thereon to supply headstones.
- (3) Take action on requests for the erection of private monuments – determine if private monuments may be erected and give approval of design, material, inscription, etc.
- (4) Take action on quarterly condition reports submitted by superintendents.

6. Albright, *Origins of National Park Service Administration of Historic Sites*, pp. 21-22.

7. These were Antietam, Battleground, Chattanooga, Fort Donelson, Fredericksburg, Gettysburg, Poplar Grove, Shiloh, Stones River, Vicksburg, and Yorktown.

8. Executive Order No. 6228, July 28, 1933, in U.S. Department of the Interior, National Park Service, *Laws Relating to the National Park Service, Supplement I, July 1933 through April 1944*, by Thomas Alan Sullivan, comp., (Washington, 1944) pp. 205-07.

(5) Maintain records of interments in the national cemeteries.

(6) Filling positions of cemetery superintendents (according to law).

(7) Reply to inquiries re-eligibility to burial, location of graves, inscription on headstones and monuments, establishment of the cemeteries, and historical incidents pertaining thereto.⁹

NATIONAL PARK SERVICE POLICIES FOR HISTORICAL AREAS DURING THE 1930s

At the time of the government reorganization in 1933 the fledgling historical program of the National Park Service was in the hands of Verne E. Chatelain, a former professor at Nebraska State Teachers College in Peru who had been appointed to head the new historical division on September 10, 1931. At a history conference in Washington in November 1931 Chatelain supported eleven recommendations for inclusion in the overall philosophy of the bureau's historical program policies governing the involvement of historians in park research, education, public relations, management, and publications efforts.¹⁰

By the time of the reorganization in 1933 the historical program of the National Park Service had been underway for less than two years. Nevertheless, the foundations for a fully developed historical program had been laid through the pioneering efforts in research, preservation, and interpretation at George Washington Birthplace and Colonial national monuments and Morristown National Historical Park. The reorganization, which quadrupled the number of historical areas in the National Park Service by adding some 57 such units, made the Park Service the leading historical park management agency in the United States virtually overnight. In 1934 Park Service Director Arno B. Cammerer acknowledged the tremendous growth of the bureau's historical program as well as its goals, objectives, and inherent problems:

The ideal Federal program of historic sites preservation thus appears to be in a fair way of realization in this new unity of jurisdiction under the National Park Service. Already a basic philosophy has been evolved by which the different areas in the system are related to each other in definite fashion. Thus from the earliest prehistoric events of American life down to the time

9. Bearss, "Brief Legislative and Administrative History of National Cemeteries," pp. 16-17, 44-45. Following passage of Public Law 93-43 in June 1973 senior officials of the National Park Service and the Veterans Administration Cemetery Service agreed that the Veterans' Administration would continue to provide the NPS the same services as those provided by the Office of the Quartermaster General under the agreement of August 1933.

10. "Historical Conference," November 27, 1931, Old History Division Files, WASO.

when the white man, after over three centuries spent in conquering American soil, conquered also the air, historic sites connected with various steps of this amazing drama of civilization will be preserved and used for the purpose of interpreting this engrossing story to those who visit these areas. . . .

The addition of the Colonial, Washington's Birthplace, and Morristown areas was but a normal growth in the historical field. But the Service was not long left to work with this normal problem. When the Executive order of June 30, 1933, [sic] added to that field national military parks and monuments, national cemeteries, and battlefield sites, the National Park Service was faced with the necessity of laying plans to build its program of interpreting these areas to the public as it had been doing for the other parks in the system.

Naturally, the bringing of so many areas of historical importance into the system placed new demands upon the historical service. The additional problems occasioned by the transfer of the military parks, monuments, and battlefield sites from the War Department created a need for additional personnel with training in history. In meeting this need, as mentioned elsewhere, the various emergency programs were of inestimable value.¹¹

The "inestimable value" of the various New Deal emergency relief and funding programs (which will be discussed later) was crucial to the implementation and extension of the embryonic Park Service historical program. The influx of money and personnel that became available to the agency as a result of its involvement in the New Deal public works programs presented great opportunities to the Service in carrying out a program of preservation, restoration, planning, and interpretation of historical areas.¹²

In June 1935 Chatelain described the role and interpretive objectives of the historical and archeological areas in the National Park System. He noted:

The conception which underlies the whole policy of the National Park Service in connection with these sites is that of using the uniquely graphic qualities which inhere in any area where stirring and significant events have taken place to drive home to the visitor the meaning of those events showing not only their importance in themselves but their integral relationship to the whole history of American development. In other words, the task is to breathe the breath of life into American history for those to whom it has been a dull recital

11. "Annual Report of the Director of the National Park Service," 1934, in *Annual Report of the Secretary of the Interior*, 1934, pp. 170-71, 182.

12. "Notes on Historical and Archeological Program, Prepared for Educational Advisory Board," by Verne E. Chatelain, ca. 1934, Old History Division Files, WASO.

of meaningless facts – to recreate for the average citizen something of the color, the pageantry, and the dignity of our national past.¹³

From 1935 to 1937 the Branch of Historic Sites and Buildings in the Washington Office, in consultation with technicians from other Park Service branches and the Advisory Board on National Parks, Historic Sites, Buildings, and Monuments, held a series of discussions regarding the establishment of a "proper restoration policy" for historical areas new to the system. The result of these discussions, as approved by the Advisory Board at its March 1937 meeting, was incorporated in a memorandum signed by Director Arno B. Cammerer on May 19, 1937. The policies, one for general restoration, another for battlefield area restoration, and a third covering sample restoration, represented the first codification of a national historic preservation policy.¹⁴ These restoration policies would have a significant impact on the first several decades of NPS administration of Gettysburg.

INITIAL NATIONAL PARK SERVICE ADMINISTRATIVE EFFORTS IN THE PARK AND CEMETERY DURING 1933-34

In his first annual report (for the year ending September 30, 1934) prepared for the National Park Service, James R. McConaghie, the superintendent of Gettysburg National Military Park under the War Department who had been kept in that position by the NPS, provided a glimpse of initial Park Service activities and policies in the park during 1933-34.¹⁵ He prefaced his description of park operations by observing:

For the past several years, and until the spring of 1933 this Park has been rather quiet. Very little was done in the way of construction. There was the feeling that the Park was completed. With the beginning of the various emergency works activity began. The beginning started with the advent of the first CCC camp. Another camp later in the summer brought additional activity. These were followed by the Civil Works and Public Works Programs.

The change from the War Department to the Department of the Interior brought with it the administrative duties over additional parks, and materially increased the administrative activities. The reduced appropriation rather

13. "History and Our National Parks," [June 1935], Old History Division Files, WASO.

14. Spalding to Director, February 11, 1937, Old History Division Files, WASO. Copies of the three restoration policies may be seen in Appendix R.

15. U.S. Department of the Interior, National Park Service, "Annual Report for the Gettysburg National Military Park, Year Ending September 30, 1934, James R. McConaghie, Superintendent, pp. 2-8, File No. 207.01, Gettysburg, CCF, RG 79.

limited the regular Park undertakings, so that most the active work has been done through the emergency works.¹⁶

Superintendent McConaghie then reviewed park operations during 1933-34. His review of the park operational activities read in part:

ADMINISTRATION

The administrative office of this Park is concerned not only with the affairs of the Park itself, but is charged with general supervision of the Gettysburg and Antietam National Cemeteries, Fort McHenry National Park, Antietam Battlefield Site, Fort Necessity National Monument, and Monocacy Battlefield Site.

The administrative force consists of a Superintendent, Chief Clerk, one Laborer, and one part-time Janitress. . . .

PROTECTION

Protection to the Battlefield is provided for in the appointment of regular full-time Battlefield Guards. These men, as is the case with all regular employees, are selected from a Civil Service register.

The regular guard force for the Park consists of six men. Two of these are motorcycle guards and the rest are foot guards. Economy has forced the reduction of the number to two motorcycle and two foot guards.

Small guard shelters have been erected about the field to serve as headquarters for the individual guards. The foot guards are each assigned a territory to police. These areas overlap so as to cover the field. The motorcycle guards operate in shifts, so the entire field is patrolled during sixteen hours of every day. The night shift varies, so that on different evenings the patrol is on the field at midnight.

During the hunting season and on special occasions when special guard duty is needed, some of the Park labor force is detailed to guard duty.

All guards have been directed to serve in the capacity of aids to the visitors and not as policemen. They are to use their authority only as a last resort. All are qualified to serve as guides in the matter of Battlefield history....

MAINTENANCE, REPAIRS, AND ALTERATIONS

(a) *Maintenance force*: The regular park maintenance force consists of eighteen day rate men, as follows: one stone mason, one painter, and sixteen laborers. . . .

16. *Ibid.*, p. 8.

The regular force has been employed for the past few years on the average of ten months of the year. Economy, and not the lack of needed work, has made this practice necessary. Last year, for these economy reasons, it was necessary to release practically the entire labor force for eight weeks.

In the ordinary park year the regular force is supplemented, during the tourist season, by temporary employees who are taken from the Civil Service register. The number of such employees varies somewhat, but averages from ten to fifteen a year.

(b) *Buildings*: The major portion of park buildings are those connected with the leased farms within the Park. Most of the minor repairs are taken care of by the tenant. Where the tenant cannot take care of them the Park labor force is called upon. . . .

(c) *Roads and Trails*: The Park labor force has been used to keep the road surface in repair. As before stated there are over 22 miles of surfaced roads within the park. . . . The major work done by the park labor on the roads has been that of keeping the gutters, small culverts and drains open. This task is rather heavy during the fall when the leaves fill the drains. During the winter the avenues are kept open for traffic.

(d) *Grounds*: The major maintenance problem confronting this park rests in its grounds. This work may be divided into the following:

1. *Lawns*: The major portion of the planting strip bordering the 22 miles of paved roads is in lawn. This requires the customary attention given lawn areas. Further, the numerous monument, marker and cannon areas are lawn. These areas must be kept in good appearance, which means mowing, grading, seeding, sodding and drainage. This item constitutes not only the major work in connection with grounds, but also of the entire maintenance problem.

2. *Mowing*: During the tourist season mowing operations occupy practically the full time of the maintenance force. This work consists of hand mowing the lawn areas, trimming the lawn edges, mowing the larger areas with horse mowers and disposing of the grass, cutting of weeds, trimming the edges of the numerous monuments, and such work.

3. *Fences*: The many miles of fences along the various avenues constitute a real maintenance problem. The post and rail (approximately 39 miles) calls for repair and replacement; the post and pipe for painting; the post and wire for repair; and the stone walls, rebuilding.

4. *Streams*: Some six streams within the Park call for attention in the matter of cleaning to remove obstruction, repair after floods, and opening of pooled areas.

5. *Drains*: Scattered throughout the Park, in the various lawn and farm areas, are a number of underdrains which have to be kept open. Through the woods are some drains leading away from the Avenues. These, also, have to be kept open.

6. *Clean-up*: Clean-up work exists somewhat in variety. Following heavy tourist travel is a general clean-up, during the fall, of leaves; the clean-up of open areas, following storms; and the clean-up of collected refuse.

(e) *Forestry*: Forestry operations of the Park force for the past year has consisted almost entirely of removal of dead and fallen trees and underbrush. Following major storms fallen trees and branches have to be cleared away. The materials, so gathered, fit for fire wood, must be hauled away and reduced to cord wood or fire wood lengths. Some little work has been done in the maintenance of a small nursery of forestry materials.

(f) *Branch Operations*: There are eighteen farms within the Park. Of these eighteen areas sixteen are under lease. Those areas not under lease must be kept in condition. The major work is that of mowing the grass, and disposal of both grass and accumulated refuse. Sixty acres have to be so maintained.

The Park maintenance force is called on to assist in keeping in repair the numerous fences dividing the various fields between farm plots. These fences are mostly post and barbed wire. Some few of them are stone walls.

(g) *Signs*: There are 464 iron tablets located both within and without the Park. These tablets have to be painted. A large number of these tablets would come under the classification of commemorative structures, perhaps better than they would meet the meaning of word signs.

(h) *Commemorative Structures*: The commemorative structures within the Park calling for maintenance work may be listed as follows:

Monu. erected by States and organizations	<u>845</u>
Bronze equestrian statues	5
Bronze statues on pedestals	30
Bronze statues on monuments	27
Granite statues on monuments	<u>21</u>
Total	<u>83</u>
 Bronze relief and plain tablets on monu.	 191
Bronze tablets on pedestals	<u>755</u>
Total	<u>946</u>
 Iron tablets	 464
Granite markers on pedestals	323
Mounted cannon and caissons	419

The maintenance work on these structures is rather obvious, including pointing of monu., cleaning applied to all structures, painting applied to the iron tablets, mounted cannon caissons and limbers, cleaning and polishing as applied to all bronze work.

EDUCATION

The primary effort in the past has been toward the correct marking of the Battlefield itself. Intensive studies have been conducted toward this end, as evidenced by the preparation of maps, of which there are over nine hundred tracings in the park vault. Records of troop movements exist in abundance. Little effort has been made toward establishing a definite educational program. But one booklet has been prepared for distribution, and this one is a statistical record of the monuments, markers, troops, etc. The only method of education or of assistance to the visitor, of consequence, is the Guide Service. . . .

For the past number of years an active roster of 100 guides has been maintained. During the past year there have been eighty-five guides actively on duty.

During the past travel year the guides conducted over the field 45,940 visitors and approximately 11,495 automobiles and busses.

The regular tour of the field covers from seventeen to twenty-two miles and occupies from two to three hours. The short trip covers about ten miles and consumes about one hour.

TRAVEL

The travel in this park dropped last year to the lowest in park history. During the past year there has been a noticeable increase in travel.

The recording of actual visitors is very difficult in that there are eleven highways leading into Gettysburg and access to the wide spread field is afforded from each. A study some years ago established a ratio of three visitors touring the field without a guide to one with a guide. This rule is still felt to be a good ratio and the following statistics are based on it.

Travel in Park:

	Visitors	Est. Cars
Oct. 1, 1928 to Sept. 30, 1929	727,395	181,849
Oct. 1, 1929 to Sept. 30, 1930	629,555	157,389
Oct. 1, 1930 to Sept. 30, 1931	508,365	127,091
Oct. 1, 1931 to Sept. 30, 1932	376,525	94,131
Oct. 1, 1932 to Sept. 30, 1933	240,380	60,095
Oct. 1, 1933 to July 1, 1934	195,696	48,924

SPECIAL OCCASIONS

Memorial Day is the only National holiday recognized. Each President has given one address during his term for the past number of years. He is usually followed the next year by the Vice-President. The two following years have as speakers some one of national reputation. This past year Gettysburg was honored by having President Roosevelt as speaker. A pleasant day permitted an estimated 100,000 people to assemble about the rostrum in the National Cemetery to hear the address. A National Radio hook-up carried the address over a goodly portion of the world. . . .

In his discussion of park finances McConaghie provided data relative to park appropriations and expenditures for fiscal years 1929-34 as well as rents collected from tenants on government-owned farms during fiscal years 1930-34. These statistics show the drastic curtailment of regular park appropriations as a result of the depression from \$53,026 in 1929 to \$27,315 in 1934. Rent collected from tenants on government farms declined from \$2,266 in 1930 to \$935 in 1934. Thus park management was forced to place heavy reliance upon the various New Deal emergency conservation work and public works programs to operate and maintain the park.

In conclusion McConaghie made several observations concerning the positive aspects of NPS administration of Gettysburg National Military Park. He noted:

In view of the accomplishments being made within the Park through the various emergency works, there will be no question but what the Park will present a more attractive and serviceable area to visit. The administration under the National Park Service will naturally afford a wider education of the public concerning the Battlefield. The fact that trained educational historical service afforded by the National Park Service is now directing this work within the Park means that tourists visiting the Park will arrive better prepared and will be afforded a much greater opportunity to become better acquainted while visiting the field. . . .

The Gettysburg National Military Park is already enshrined in the heart of this country. Our task is to see that it meets the requirements of an exacting public. There can be no better way to do this than to exert every effort toward restoring it to the condition as found during the world famous battle fought over its grounds. Modern traffic needs, necessary conveniences, needed explanatory and direction devices will of necessity introduce foreign elements. These must be, but every effort should be made to make them a part of the scene or so developed as to make them as inconspicuous as possible.¹⁷

17. *Ibid.*, pp. 9-23, 30-32.

Clarence L. Nett, Superintendent of Gettysburg National Cemetery, also submitted an annual report for the year ending September 30, 1934.¹⁸ He prefaced his description of cemetery operations by stating:

As was the case with the Gettysburg National Military Park, the past number of years have been rather quiet as far as construction or improvement within the National Cemetery are concerned.

During the past year, the opportunities afforded by emergency work have made possible increased activities.

Using much the same format as McConaghie, Superintendent Nett described the cemetery operations for 1933-34. Included in his report were the following observations:

ADMINISTRATION

The affairs of the National Cemetery are at present being conducted by a newly appointed Cemetery Superintendent. The former superintendent was retired for economy reasons, on October 31, 1933. . . .

PROTECTION

The protection of the National Cemetery is directly in the hands of the superintendent. To assist him in this work the motorcycles of the National Park include the Cemetery in their patrols. During the past year, a number of warnings had been issued in matters of speeding and parking. No arrests have been necessary.

On special occasions when additional protection is needed, some of the National Park laborers have been assigned to duty within the Cemetery.

MAINTENANCE, REPAIRS, AND ALTERATIONS

The maintenance problems are rather well established in the above given description of the area. The more important of these items, together with the maintenance force is as follows:

- (1) *Force:* Economy program has made it impossible to employ a maintenance force of any size. The Superintendent and one laborer constitutes the regular force. . . .

18. U.S. Department of the Interior, National Park Service, "Annual Report for the Gettysburg National Cemetery, Year Ending September 30, 1934, Clarence L. Nett, Superintendent, pp. 2-5, File No. 207-01, Gettysburg, CCF, RG 79.

- (2) *Work: Buildings* – Minor repairs have been made to all of the buildings. On May 6 and May 30, temporary rostrum was added to the fixed rostrum to meet the special demand of the day.
- (3) *Roads:* Maintenance work on roads has consisted almost entirely in the cleaning of gutters and drains.
- (4) *Grounds:*
Lawns – The major portion of 17 acres of the Cemetery consist of lawns. The maintenance work involved is that of grading, seeding, sodding and fertilizing.
Mowing – Two power mowers and two hand mowers are kept constantly busy during the tourist season, cutting the grass. One of the most time consuming elements in this item is that of cutting the grass along the edges of the headstones, monuments and fences.
Fences – Little maintenance work has been necessary on the stone fence. The major portion of the iron fence was erected during the past travel year. The existing iron fence and iron gates were painted and repaired.
Clean-Up – The major clean-up item rests in the cleaning of the headstones. Other clean-up work has consisted in the daily policing of the grounds; the keeping the grounds clear of fallen branches and in the raking and disposing of leaves during the fall.
- (5) *Forestry:* Practically all of the forestry work accomplished in the Cemetery during the past year has been done under a Public Works Project. Some small additional amount of Tree Surgery Work was done by a detail from the CCC Camp.
- (6) *Signs:* A small number of cast iron tablets exist about the Cemetery that have been cleaned and painted.
- (7) *Commemorative Structures:* Some monument cleaning work had been done as a CCC Project. The 10 cannon, together with their carriages, have been cleaned and painted during the past year.
- (8) *Interments:* 6 burials have been made during the past travel year. Cemetery force is called upon to excavate and refill the graves. . . .

TRAVEL

In that the National Cemetery is part of the regular tours, the travel report for the Cemetery is estimated as being the same as is reported for the National Park.

Oct. 1, 1933 to July 1, 1934

195,696

SPECIAL OCCASIONS

Two special occasions of importance marked the past year. First of these was the Knights Templars exercises, held at the rostrum on May 6. There were

approximately 5,000 in attendance. On May 30, President Roosevelt gave the address. . . .

In conclusion, Superintendent Nett observed that the "possibility of utilizing the various emergency works has made it possible to maintain the Cemetery at rather a high level. He continued:

. . . . When the emergency works will have been completed, the Cemetery, without doubt, will present one of the most attractive of its kind in the country. The assignment of a permanent Superintendent who has demonstrated his ability in another National Cemetery before his assignment to this Cemetery, rather definitely assures a proper maintenance of this first of all National Cemeteries in the United States.¹⁹

EMERGENCY CONSERVATION WORK (ECW) AND OTHER DEPRESSION-ERA PUBLIC WORKS PROJECTS AT GETTYSBURG: 1933-1941

As noted in the aforementioned reports by Superintendents McConaghie and Nett, both the park and the cemetery benefitted from the Emergency Conservation Work and other depression-era public works programs. When the National Park Service took charge of the park and cemetery in 1933 it inherited the War Department's maintenance needs. During the mid-1930s Park Service personnel asserted that the War Department had made few or no improvements at Gettysburg during its last years of administering the park and cemetery, thus allowing the areas to take on an appearance unbecoming to a national shrine. While this criticism was not entirely accurate, it was clear that during the postwar period the War Department had not kept the high maintenance standards at Gettysburg that had existed prior to World War I. In part this could be attributed to the dislocation caused by the war, the passing of Commissioner Nicholson in 1922, and administrative changes placing the park and cemetery under the Office of the Quartermaster General. Thus, the availability of ECW and public works programs provided the National Park Service with the opportunity to formulate a long-needed program of improvements for preservation, interpretation, and utilization of the park and cemetery.²⁰

19. *Ibid.*, pp. 5-12.

20. Kathleen R. Georg, "The Development and Care of the Soldiers' National Cemetery Enclosures at Gettysburg," June 16, 1978, p. 23, DSC-TIC Files.

The ECW program began at Gettysburg on June 17, 1933, when the first Civilian Conservation Corps (CCC) camp (known as Camp No. 1) was established in Pitzer's Woods on West Confederate Avenue. Later on November 1, 1933, a second CCC camp (known as Camp no. 2) was established to the rear of McMillan's Woods on West Confederate Avenue.²¹ Both camps had black enrollees and were housed in wooden barracks. By September 1934 Camp No. 1 had a supervisory force of nine work foremen, a landscape foreman, and a historical foreman. Camp No. 2 had nine work foremen, an engineering foreman, and a historical foreman. The technical staff for both camps consisted of a historical technician and a forestry technician who cooperated with the park and cemetery superintendents in planning and directing the work.²²

During 1933-34 the CCC camps at Gettysburg performed various projects in the park. These work efforts, totaling the expenditure of nearly \$35,500, included: (1) reduction of fire hazards; (2) forest improvements; (3) general and roadside clean-up; (4) repairs to roads, fences, and stone walls; (5) landscaping, seeding, and sodding; (6) cleaning of monuments, markers, and drains; (7) erosion control; (8) saw mill work; and (9) recurring maintenance.

The value of this work to the park, according to Superintendent McConaghie, was the accomplishment of an "accumulation of years of needed clean-up work." Repairs and improvements were performed which "materially benefitted the Park." Thus, much "needed assistance" had been given "the regular park maintenance work, which was endangered by a considerably reduced appropriation."²³

Several projects were carried out in the park during 1933-34 with Civil Works Administration (CWA) funds. Nine persons were employed to prepare maps, lectures, folders, and compile historical materials relating to the Civil War and Adams County. Four employees assisted in refiling and modernizing the park filing system. An architect, engineer, historian,

21. A short history of Camp No. 2, prepared in June 1936, may be seen in Appendix S.

22. For data on the work of the historical technicians at Gettysburg during the period 1933-34 see Branch of Historic Sites, Gettysburg National Military Park Reports-1933, and Branch of Historic Sites, Gettysburg Reports-1934, File No. 207, Gettysburg, CCF, RG 79. For material on the naturalist and forestry activities of the CCC camps during fiscal years 1934-35 see Charles J. Spiker, "Report of Activities of Senior Naturalist Technician for August 30, 31, and September 1, 1934," September 5, 1934, J. LeRoy Duford, "Report of Forestry Foreman, March 1934," April 3, 1934, Files Nos. 885-01 and 880-31, respectively, Gettysburg, CCF, RG 79.

23. More data on CCC work in the park during fiscal year 1934 may be seen in Diehl to McConaghie, July 17, 1934; Jones to Chatelain, March 7, 1934; and Project Report for Third Enrollment Period of ECW Camps No. 1 and No. 2, February 6, 1934; Vertical Files, GNMP: Civil Works Administration Projects, GNMP Library.

horticulturist, forester, and agriculturist were hired to conduct various studies in their disciplines that would be useful in development of a park master plan.²⁴

Public Works Administration (PWA) funds were also provided for park projects at Gettysburg beginning in September 1933. These efforts included the repair and maintenance of fourteen groups of farm buildings, improvements and repairs to roads, trails, culverts, walks, and paths, and tree surgery and protection.²⁵

A variety of ECW, CWA, and PWA projects were conducted in the cemetery during 1933-34. CCC enrollees erected and painted an iron fence, replacing the old iron fence that had been transferred from Lafayette Square in Washington, D.C., and installed along Baltimore Pike and Slocum Avenue in 1890, to separate Evergreen Cemetery from the national cemetery. ECW work also included opening of old drains, location of new drains, and permanently resetting the headstones in the cemetery in concrete. CWA funds were used to construct a new removable wooden rostrum that seated 200 people and to paint the exterior and interior of the superintendent's lodge. Nearly \$2,000 was expended in a PWA project relating to tree surgery and protection.²⁶

During the years 1934-39 considerable work was carried out in the park and cemetery under the ECW and other depression-era public works programs. In 1934-35 each of the two CCC camps at Gettysburg employed six white enrollees to do special or clerical work, but by July 1935 these persons had been transferred, thus leaving "all enrollee and local experienced men positions" filled by blacks.

In July 1935 Superintendent McConaghie described the benefits derived by the park and cemetery from the CCC camps. He remarked:

The work of the camps is obvious as one goes about the field. The 900 acres of woodlands are clean. Over 1,000 cords of wood have been given relief

24. "Final Report on Federal Project F-0017 as Undertaken in the Gettysburg National Military Park," James R. McConaghie, Superintendent, May 15, 1934, and C. W. A. Final Narrative Reports, Master Plan, Historical-Educational, Clerical Assistance in Park Office, Gettysburg National Military Park, Gettysburg, Penna., Federal Project No. F0017-063, File No. 619, Gettysburg, CCF, RG 79. For an example of one of the CWA planning reports, see Cornelius Howry, "Report On Gettysburg National Military Park," April 2, 1934, File No. 620, Gettysburg, CCF, RG 79.

25. "Annual Report for the Gettysburg National Military Park, Year ending September 30, 1934," pp. 24-29.

26. "Annual Report for the Gettysburg National Cemetery, Year Ending September 30, 1934," pp. 10-12, and Louis E. King, "The Gettysburg National Cemetery: An Exposition of Emergency Conservation Work Projects," September 1935, Vertical File, GNMP: ECW Work in National Cemetery, GNMP Library.

agencies or to the camps. Over 80,000 board feet of lumber have been cut and used either for park building repair or is stored in the park yards.

The trees along the avenues have been fed and pruned, something very badly needed. About their bases and along the road edges is plenty of evidence of needed lawn repair work. Back of these the many miles of farm fence are once more in repair.

The appearance of the cemetery is once more one to create the desired feeling of rest and respect. The headstones, loosely set, had been lifted and forced out of line by the frost and weather. These are now all firmly set in concrete well below the frost line. . . .

Both camps have been approved for another six months. Special attention will be given the reconditioning of 25 miles of stone wall now in disrepair. Minor roads and farm approach roads will be built. The lawn and fence repair work will continue. Unsightly fills will be removed.

The camps have fitted nicely into the community. Conflict has been minor, when it is realized that both camps are within walking distance of the center of town. It is felt that there can be no question as to proper control and a desire on the part of the boys as well as the citizens to cooperate. When the CCC leaves this community it will leave not only a work well done, but a warm feeling not only toward the work done, but toward this whole emergency movement as well.²⁷

During 1934-35 several PWA projects were completed in the park and cemetery. Federal Project 458 provided funds for repair of farm buildings constructed since the Battle of Gettysburg. While these repairs were underway, historical and architectural studies were made of the structures existing at the time of the battle. Federal Project 458A was then directed toward reconditioning of the structures which existed in 1863. The work of both projects included repairs to "foundations, supporting structures, floors, walls, plastering, papering, painting, windows, chimneys, roofs, porches. . . ." The work was under the technical supervision of Assistant Architect Cornelius Howry of the National Park Service Washington Office's Branch of Plans and Design. Under the two projects repairs and reconditioning were carried out on buildings of the Hummelbaugh, Weikert, Trostle,

27. U.S. Department of the Interior, National Park Service, Gettysburg National Military Park, "Superintendent's Annual Report for Year 1934-1935," July 27, 1935, James R. McConaghie, Superintendent, pp. 25-29, File No. 207-01, Gettysburg, CCF, RG 79. Also see U.S. Department of the Interior, National Park Service, "Annual Report for the Gettysburg National Cemetery, Year Ending July 31, 1935," Clarence L. Nett, Superintendent, pp. 5-6, File No. 207-01, Gettysburg, CCF, RG 79, and King, "The Gettysburg National Cemetery: An Exposition of Emergency Conservation Work Projects," p. 8. Old Pennsylvania-type fencing was made from chestnut lumber by ECW workers in Shenandoah National Park for use at Gettysburg. In resetting the headstones on concrete the CCC raised the grade around them, bringing them flush with grade and making them virtually undetectable, thus altering the historic appearance of the Civil War section.

McPherson, Klingel, Wentz, Culp, Codori, Bushman, Slyder, Biggs, Bryan, Althoff, and Masonheimer farms.²⁸

The repair and reconditioning of the farm houses and structures was described in detail by Howry in his final construction report on February 25, 1936. He observed:

There are fifteen farm groups included in the battlefield area. These groups consist of houses, barns and outbuildings. Two of the groups were constructed since 1863, the others being here at the time of the battle. Fourteen of these groups are tenanted with farmers or park employees. One group is used for exhibition purposes, and is known as General Meade's Headquarters. These groups had not been given any attention or repair other than those made by the tenants. From observation, these repairs were of a very poor quality and for a period of twenty years or more, these buildings were permitted to disintegrate.

The thought in reconditioning them was not only to repair them but to make the repairs conform to a restoration of the original buildings. This idea was carried out in as far as the repairing and reconditioning was necessary. No attempt was made to restore any section or portion of a building if it was in good structural condition, as there was not enough funds for that extensive a program. . . .

Work was started on March 5, 1934 being segregated to repairing buildings erected after 1863. This work was done under the supervision of the Landscape Foreman and consisted of general repairing to outbuildings and barns. Stone wall repointing, reroofing and painting being the major items. All picket and other fences were repaired and whitewashed. This portion of the program was completed May 31, 1934.

On July 30 work was started on the reconditioning of farm buildings and houses built before 1863 under the supervision of the Assistant Architect. This work consisted of wall repairing and pointing, reroofing, replacing doors and window sash and shutters, reflooring, replastering, refinishing, painting and papering. Attachments which had been added to these buildings but did not serve a useful purpose and did not conform to the period of the building, were removed. . . .

The reconditioning as completed consisted of first; repairing the structures in all the necessary places in a manner following the original construction. Second; correcting fire hazards in all chimneys and kitchens. Third; replacing all additions not in character with the building where this addition was in need of repairs or served no useful purpose. Fourth; reroofing

28. "Gettysburg National Military Park, Gettysburg, Pennsylvania, Public Works Project, Repair and Maintenance of Farm Buildings, Federal Project 458," Vertical Files, PWA Projects on Farm Buildings, GNMP Library, and "Final Construction Report," March 21, 1939 (Project No. 3) James R. McConaghie, Superintendent, in Construction Reports, 1935-1939, GNMP Library.

in wood shingles where all tin roofs were in bad condition. Fifth; repairing all interiors, especially living quarters. Sixth; all exteriors and interiors where necessary, were repainted and papered.²⁹

Federal Project 461 A & B, providing for tree surgery and protection in both the park and cemetery, was completed in 1934-35. Work under this project included the repair, pruning, bracing, and fertilizing of trees.³⁰

Federal Project 460A, providing for construction of a modern utility building, two entrance stations, and two comfort stations, all of stone and brick with hand-split shingle roofs, as well as water supply, sewage, and service connections for these buildings, was completed in September 1935. The entrance stations were located on the Chambersburg and Emmitsburg roads, the comfort stations near Spangler's Spring and Devil's Den, and the utility building at the site of and incorporating the old storage structure at the intersection of Taneytown Road and Pleasonton Avenue. Included in the work completed by that date were contracts for construction of five sewage disposal plants, installation of four deep well pumping units, and laying of a four-inch water line to the Chambersburg Road entrance station. The buildings were opened for use in May 1937.³¹

Under the terms of an inter-bureau agreement, the Bureau of Public Roads in the Department of Agriculture undertook major road projects in the national parks during the mid-1930s. One of the allotments made under PWA (Federal Project 391A) was for construction, reconstruction, and improvement of Wright, Howe, United States, Slocum, and Sykes avenues [project changed alignment of Sykes Avenue over Little Round Top and Big Round Top] at Gettysburg. Accordingly, the bureau established a branch office in Gettysburg on July 23, 1934, with Engineer D. L. Leisher in charge. Over the next several years the

29. "Final Construction Report, Reconditioning of Houses and Farm Structures, Gettysburg National Military Park," Cornelius Howry, Assistant Architect, February 25, 1936, Vertical Files, GNMP Library.

30. Gettysburg National Military Park, "Superintendent's Annual Report for Year 1934-1935," p. 31.

31. "Final Construction Report," March 21, 1939 (Project No. 4), James R. McConaghie, Superintendent, in Construction Reports, 1935-1939, GNMP Library; Gettysburg National Military Park, Gettysburg, Pennsylvania, "Public Works Project, Repair and Maintenance of Farm Buildings, Federal Project 48," Vertical Files, PWA Projects on Farm Buildings, GNMP Library; and "Final Construction Report, FP 460-A," James R. McConaghie, Superintendent, March 23, 1939, File No. 207-22, Gettysburg, CCF, RG 79. Data on the operation of the entrance stations during 1937-38 may be seen in Frederick Tilberg, "Report on the Operation of Park Entrance Stations, Gettysburg National Military Park," January 17, 1938, Historical Files, MARO-CRM.

bureau would conduct surveys, prepare contract documents, and provide construction supervision for road projects at Gettysburg.³²

Federal Project 391B, which consolidated three separately funded projects for which funds were allotted on July 13, 1934, was ninety-three percent completed by July 1935. In commenting on the work accomplished under this project, Superintendent McConaghie later observed:

This project has primarily authorized to meet a variety of minor repair problems along the various avenues throughout the Park and for repair and reconstruction of walks and hard-surfaced paths in a number of the areas within the Park and to cover miscellaneous incidental expenses. . . .

The definite field work accomplishments may be listed as: The removal of the dangerous and unnecessary stone headwalls; the replacement of necessary headwalls with the new approved stone wall type; and, the extension of the culverts from the existing end directly adjacent to the paved surface to a position wherein they would not interfere with traffic and where better drainage could be accomplished.

In this drainage work, concrete catch basins, construction of concrete anchors, relaying of sections of concrete gutters, were all necessary parts of the road repair undertaken by this approved project.

The walk and path work consisted of the repair and relaying of existing concrete walks along the Pennsylvania Monument and the High Water Mark. Broken concrete slabs were removed and new ones placed and others repaired on the floor of the Pennsylvania Monument. The walks about the United States Regulars' Monument were taken up and new flagstone walks put in. An unsightly path over Devil's Den area was removed and a new hard surface type path was put in. A major parking area was constructed at Devil's Den.³³

During fiscal year 1935 emergency construction funds totaling \$15,500 were allotted for culvert extension, gutter repair, road edge repair, and widening of intersections and

32. Monthly Narrative Reports of the Bureau of Public Roads, Gettysburg Office, from October 1934 to December 1937, are on file in the National Park Service Archives at Harpers Ferry Center, Harpers Ferry, West Virginia.

33. "Final Construction Report," March 21, 1939 (FP 391B), James R. McConaghie, Superintendent, in Construction Reports, 1935-1939, GNMP Library. PWA funds were also allotted to resurface and regrade all driveways and construct a new asphalt parking lot in the cemetery under the supervision of the Bureau of Public Roads during 1934-35. "Annual Report for the Gettysburg National Cemetery, Year Ending July 31, 1935," p. 6.

curves at Gettysburg. The funds were made available by the Emergency Construction Act of June 19, 1934 and work started on March 14, 1935.³⁴

Despite personnel, funding, and administrative cutbacks, the two CCC camps at Gettysburg continued to perform invaluable services to the park in 1936 (only minor ECW or PWA projects were conducted in the cemetery after fiscal year 1935). Administration of the camps remained under the NPS Branch of Forestry until June 1, 1936, when they were placed under the Branch of Planning and State Park Cooperation. Immediate direction of the work at Gettysburg was placed under Region One at Richmond, Virginia. Local administration of the work was directed by the park superintendent, while day-to-day operations of each camp were the responsibility of the individual superintendents. Prior to the regional reorganization technical supervisory personnel were in residence at the park, but after the reorganization technical supervision was provided by traveling technicians who visited the park on a monthly basis.³⁵

During fiscal year 1936 two major road projects were undertaken in the park by the Bureau of Public Roads using PWA funds. Slocum Avenue in the vicinity of Culp's Hill was relocated, thus eliminating some "very abrupt and dangerous curves" and providing for "a much safer and improved traffic way." Portions of Sykes Avenue in the vicinity of the Little Round Top summit were relocated, eliminating "some hair-pin turns" in that area. The change in alignment of these avenues was made over the objections of the park's historians, who protested in writing to Chief Historian Verne Chatelain that the changes would divert the avenues from their original purpose – to follow the lines of battle – and would mar heretofore undisturbed terrain over which troops passed into battle.³⁶

Both CCC camps continued to operate at Gettysburg until April 5, 1937, when Camp No. 1 was ordered abandoned. The number of enrollees in the park during the year ranged from a high of 301 in November 1936 to a low of 131 in June 1937. Black officers were

34. Gettysburg National Military Park, "Superintendent's Annual Report for Year 1934-1935," pp. 34-35, and "Report On FP391 Roads and Trails, National Parks, Emergency Construction, Act June 19, 1934: Project 501 – Completion of extension of Road Culvert Program and Foot Paths-Force Account, [and] Project 502 – Road Repairs, Including Gutters, Large Culverts, Shoulders and Widening of Curves-Force Account," by James R. McConaghie, Superintendent, n.d., Construction Reports, 1935-1939, GNMP Library.

35. U.S. Department of the Interior, National Park Service, Gettysburg National Military Park, "Superintendent's Annual Report for Year 1935-1936," pp. 23-24, File No. 207-01, Gettysburg, CCF, RG 79.

36. *Ibid.*, p. 31, and R.L. Jones to Chatelain, June 20, 1934, and Allison to Chatelain, June 18, 1934, Vertical Files, Roads, Avenues, and Rights-of-Way, Folder 3, GNMP Library.

assigned to Camp No. 2, apparently the first CCC camp with black commanders in the United States.³⁷

During fiscal year 1937 a telephone trunk line was placed underground in the vicinity of the new Chambersburg Entrance Station with PWA funds (Federal Project 676). This allowed for removal of the "unsightly overhead wires" near the station and "very materially improved the appearance of the area," thus contributing "to the setting of the new entrance station".³⁸

Several roads and trails projects were carried out in the park during fiscal year 1937 by the Bureau of Public Roads under contract using PWA emergency construction funds. Federal Project 508 provided for construction during the summer and fall of 1936 of bituminous macadam entrance roads, concrete curbing, and flagstone walks at the two new entrance stations. Under Federal Project 509 the Highway Engineering & Construction Company of Washington, D.C., was awarded a contract on November 16, 1936, for surfacing, with minor relocation, of Hunt, Meredith, Reynolds, East Confederate, West Confederate, Meade, and Pleasonton avenues. South Confederate Avenue was also relocated and surfaced from Little Round Top to West Confederate Avenue under this contract, which provided for an aggregate of 4.103 miles of road work.

Other road work in the park conducted by the Bureau of Public Roads during fiscal year 1937 included surface treatment of Granite School House Road and Colgrove Avenue Extension and repair of the Reynolds Avenue Bridge. Regarding the road projects Superintendent McConaghie reported in August 1937:

The roads in this park were built many years ago before the advent of the automobile. Initially they were of the waterbound macadam type known as Telford. The coming of the automobile made necessary a better surface. No change was made in the base. The increasingly heavy traffic began to break down the road surface so that continual repair has been necessary. High crowns and deep gutters increased the traffic hazard. Within the past few years it became obvious that these roads, built for horse-drawn vehicles, would not do for modern traffic. The Roads & Trails monies are being expended to correct this unsatisfactory condition. The projects to date have been concerned directly with correction. No new road work is contemplated until the present evils are eliminated. . . .

37. U.S. Department of the Interior, National Park Service, Gettysburg National Military Park, "Superintendent's Annual Report for Year 1936-1937," pp. 30-35, File 207-01, Gettysburg, CCF, RG 79.

38. *Ibid.*, pp. 37-38.

Needless to say a distinct value both in better roads and in better service has been made possible through the Roads & Trails monies allotted this park. Fear of driving the park roads very much evident on the part of many visitors at the beginning of these works has been dissipated. Appearance has been decidedly improved and maintenance reduced. The expenditures thus far made are rapidly being justified by use.³⁹

CCC Camp No. 2 continued to operate at Gettysburg during fiscal year 1938 with an average enrollee strength of 164 and an average of 115 men in the field. Local administration continued under Superintendent McConaghie with Camp Superintendent J. Howard Diehl directly supervising the work of the camp.⁴⁰

Two Works Progress Administration (WPA) projects were established at Gettysburg during the latter part of fiscal year 1938 – one a construction project and the other a "white collar" technical and professional project. Since requested superintendence for the construction project was unavailable it was placed under the direction of Cemetery Superintendent Nett. The construction project, designed to accomplish repair and reconstruction works, included parking area, minor road, and fence improvements and installation of latrines and drinking fountains.

The technical and professional project (which continued until September 1938) was designed to provide the first comprehensive traffic and attendance study of the battlefield for future planning needs of the park. Management was interested in reducing the number (33) of different entrances to the park, and the count was designed to determine the relative importance of the various entrances. The WPA employees were also hired to supply information to the visiting public during the 75th anniversary celebration of the Battle of Gettysburg and prepare a card index of the names on the Pennsylvania Monument.⁴¹

The extensive road work projects conducted by the Bureau of Public Roads at Gettysburg were largely completed by January 31, 1938, when the bureau's Gettysburg office was closed. Among the major road projects completed under contract in fiscal year 1938 were

39. *Ibid.*, pp. 39-45. Further data on public works activities at Gettysburg during fiscal year 1937-38 may be seen in the monthly narrative reports of Tell W. Nicolet, Rob Roy MacGregor, and Roy E. Appleman in the possession of George E. Palmer at the NPS Mid-Atlantic Regional Office in Philadelphia.

40. U.S. Department of the Interior, National Park Service, Gettysburg National Military Park, "Superintendent's Annual Report for Year 1937-1938," pp. 36-39, File No. 207-01, Gettysburg, CCF, RG 79.

41. *Ibid.*, pp. 40-45.

those on East Confederate, South Confederate, Meade, Reynolds, Stone, and Meredith avenues.

Minor resurfacing road projects were undertaken by the Bureau of Public Roads in 1937-38. Crawford, Pleasonton, and Humphreys avenues were given tar and stone chip surface treatment. Portions of Wright Avenue and West Confederate Avenue from Wheatfield Road to the tower received similar treatment.

In July 1938 Superintendent McConaghie commented on the extensive road improvements that had been made in the park during 1934-38 by the Bureau of Public Roads. He observed:

It was with regret that we witnessed the closing of the local Bureau of Public Roads office. It meant that the much needed reconstruction and road rebuilding work would be at least temporarily ended. The past few years have witnessed a very distinct improvement in road conditions within the park. The major difficulties faced in 1933 have rather well been taken care of. The park is in much better shape to meet modern traffic demands and to afford both better safety and comfort to the visiting motorist. The necessary regulations that an experienced guide accompany all bus trips over the field are no longer needed. Then the hazards both of narrow roads and bad curves called for such regulations. . . .⁴²

While many of the depression-era public works projects across the nation were being phased out during the late 1930s the CCC camp at Gettysburg continued to operate during fiscal year 1939. Nearly \$31,000 of work was performed during the year by CCC personnel.⁴³

A WPA project was established in the park in April 1939 for a three-fold purpose – to get some needed work accomplished, relieve the local labor unemployment situation, and improve the park's public relations in the community. Projects accomplished between April 10 and June 30, 1939, amounted to \$38,170.54 of work, and included oiled macadam road, parking area, turn-out, gutter, and intersection improvements, relaying brick walks, installing granite curbing, laying cast iron and terra cotta pipe, and reconstructing fences and farm buildings.⁴⁴

42. *Ibid.*, pp. 46-50. Also see "Final Construction Report, Project 2A-4A-5A (Force Account)," D. L. Leisher, May 1939, File No. 207-22, Gettysburg, CCF, RG 79.

43. U.S. Department of the Interior, National Park Service, Gettysburg National Military Park, "Superintendent's Preliminary Annual Report for Fiscal Year 1939," pp. 14-16, File No. 207-01, Gettysburg, CCF, RG 79.

44. *Ibid.*, pp. 16-18.

The WPA project was completed in fiscal year 1940 when more than \$34,000 of work was accomplished. In summarizing the accomplishments of this project Superintendent McConaghie observed in September 1940:

. . . The problem here is to alter the present roads to meet present day requirements. One of the primary objectives obtained through this project was to forward the needed changes. The fences desired in the area are those of the period type. Through the years a change to a more modern type has occurred. Our objective is to replace these with a period type as a step in the direction of restoration. The project was of great value both toward improving the appearance of the area and assisting in a further accomplishment of the restoration objective.

That same year on February 29 a park boundary survey was commenced, using WPA funds. It had been found that early surveys of the park lands "were rather inaccurate," thus leading to continual questions "as to the actual location of the park boundary." The project provided for study and checking of all deeds, field survey work, preparation of a plan showing actual boundary lines, and placement of approved permanent boundary markers.

National Youth Administration (NYA) funds were used in the park for the first time during fiscal year 1940. Some 1,621 man hours of stenographic and typist work and 133 bronze tablets were cleaned under the NYA program.

The remaining CCC camp continued to operate at Gettysburg during fiscal year 1940. In September 1939 all of the remaining white supervisors were replaced by black foremen. In summarizing the contributions of the CCC to the park development program Superintendent McConaghie observed in September 1940:

It is rather difficult to measure the value to the Park of the CCC work that has been accomplished. There has been no question at any time but what the possibilities offered through the CCC would enable us to advance rapidly toward that ultimate objective of reconditioning and restoration.⁴⁵

The superintendent went on to state that the cumulative accomplishments of all projects performed in the park with emergency conservation works and public works funds had made a salutary impact on the development and restoration of the park. He stated:

With the passing of time the results of the major emergency work activities are proving their worth. The newness of the construction has given

45. U.S. Department of the Interior, National Park Service, Gettysburg National Military Park, "Superintendent's Annual Report for the Fiscal Year 1940," n.p., File 207-01, Gettysburg, CCF, RG 79.

way to a more finished picture. Corrected roads have eased the traffic problems and made the park more visitable. Additional parking areas, restorative work, vista cuttings, elimination of hazards, foot trails, comfort facilities, correction of erosion and drainage, improved and safer drinking water provision, marking of areas, corrected lawn conditions and tree preservation work are among the accomplishments that may be observed and the visitor has most favorably reacted, too. There can be no question but what the year 1933, when the park came under the National Park Service, marked the beginning of a very material effort toward a more functional area. The technical services offered under the new administration plus opportunities afforded under the various emergency agencies combined to afford the opportunity to advance both corrective measures and desirable additions. The result has had the approval of the visiting public.⁴⁶

The CCC camp at Gettysburg was discontinued on March 25, 1942, some 3½ months after the United States entered World War II. During its last twenty-one months in existence its principal activities were in vista cutting, roads and trails construction, and reconstruction of Civil War era fences.⁴⁷

OPERATION OF GETTYSBURG NATIONAL MILITARY PARK: 1934-1941

The National Park Service faced many challenges as it administered Gettysburg National Military Park during the pre-World War II period. The purpose of this section will be to provide a topical review of the problems and issues facing Gettysburg park management and the policies formulated to meet those challenges during the first years of NPS administration.

Administration

As aforementioned the range of administrative duties devolving upon the park superintendent were the result of the governmental reorganization of 1933 and the various New Deal public works programs designed to ameliorate the effects of the depression. Superintendent McConaghie commented on the extent of his responsibilities in 1935:

46. *Ibid.*

47. U.S. Department of the Interior, National Park Service, "Annual Report for Gettysburg National Military Park and Cemetery, Fiscal Year Ending June 30, 1941," p. 3, and "Annual Report for Gettysburg National Military Park and Cemetery, Fiscal Year Ending June 30, 1942," p. 1, File No. 207-01, Gettysburg, CCF, RG 79.

The administration of this park was materially increased following its transfer to the Department of the Interior. Prior to the transfer many administrative duties were accomplished in the Third Corps Army headquarters in Baltimore. Practically all of these were transferred to the local park. Further, the assignment of general supervision over Fort McHenry National Park, Antietam, Fort Necessity, and Monocacy Battlefield Sites, Gettysburg and Antietam National Cemeteries to this park increased administrative duties. In addition the detailed supervision of the various emergency works further increased the regular administrative duties.

McConaghie went on to indicate that because of depression-related appropriation reductions the Gettysburg administrative force was about the same in July 1935 as it was at the time of the transfer in 1933. The assistant superintendent position, which had become vacant through retirement shortly after the transfer of the park to the National Park Service, was still unfilled as of July 1935. A maintenance foreman had been added to the staff during 1934-35, and an additional clerk was in process of being selected from the Civil Service register. Only "clerical help employed for the various emergency work" had "made it possible for us to keep all the work up to date." As of July 1935 the park administrative force consisted of five persons:

- 1 Superintendent, James E. McConaghie
- 1 Clerk, Samuel G. Sollenberger
- 1 Maintenance Foreman, George Schantzenbach
- 1 Laborer, Allen Brown
- 1 Janitress, (Part-time) Hannah Brown

The principal categories of administrative work, according to McConaghie, were preparation of reports, financial and legal aspects of park operations, execution and collection of farm lease rents, supervision of public works programs, training of park personnel, public relations, and supervision of battlefield guides and park protective services.⁴⁸

Several changes were made in park administrative personnel and procedures at Gettysburg during fiscal year 1936. The administrative force was increased in October 1935 by the addition of John J. Bachensky as junior clerk, Sollenberger thus becoming chief clerk. The death of maintenance foreman George W. Schantzenbach in the spring of 1936 created a vacancy temporarily filled by Horace E. Smiley, a regular park employee. The administrative work of the park was reduced in January 1936 when Fort McHenry National

48. Gettysburg National Military Park, "Superintendent's Annual Report for Year 1934-1935," pp. 4-6. Data on the early administration of the park was provided to the author of this study by Samuel G. Sollenberger during a personal interview at Gettysburg National Military Park on June 28, 1985.

Park, Antietam Battlefield Site, and Antietam National Cemetery were established as an independent NPS unit. The amount of park clerical work was increased, however, when the allotment ledger system for the park and its areas was transferred from the Washington Office to the park.⁴⁹

The permanent administrative force of the park was increased during fiscal year 1937 with the hiring of Frederick Tilberg as an assistant historian. Three additional temporary positions were filled for the "open park season only" – Junior Clerk, Charles B. McGrory; Ranger Historian, H. Ross Sheely; and Ranger Historian, J. Melchior Sheads.⁵⁰

Various changes affecting the administration of the park were made during the years 1939-41. In fiscal year 1939 Joseph B. O'Byrne was hired as a full-time junior clerk.⁵¹ Samuel G. Sollenberger was promoted to assistant superintendent in fiscal year 1940 – a position he would hold until 1965. Thereafter, the superintendent, assistant superintendent, and assistant historian formed the executive staff for discussion of administrative problems. Clerical, fiscal, and protection services were placed under the direct supervision of the assistant superintendent, while public relations and maintenance and construction were under the supervision of Superintendent McConaghie, the latter being exercised through the foreman of construction and maintenance. Interpretive activities were placed under the direction of Assistant Historian Tilberg.⁵² In October 1940, after the death of its superintendent, Antietam National Battlefield Site was placed under the jurisdiction of Gettysburg.⁵³

A number of personnel changes were made in the administrative force at Gettysburg during fiscal year 1941. On February 1 Superintendent McConaghie was transferred to Vicksburg National Military Park and Superintendent J. Walter Coleman of Vicksburg replaced McConaghie at Gettysburg.⁵⁴ Other changes during the year included: transfer of

49. Gettysburg National Military Park, "Superintendent's Annual Report for Year 1935-1936," pp. 2-6.

50. Gettysburg National Military Park, "Superintendent's Annual Report for Year 1936-1937," pp. 4-7.

51. Gettysburg National Military Park, "Superintendent's Preliminary Annual Report for Fiscal Year 1939," pp. 2-4. Each administrative staff member worked a 44-hour week.

52. Gettysburg National Military Park, "Superintendent's Annual Report for the Fiscal Year 1940," pp. 5-8.

53. Gettysburg National Military Park, "Annual Report for Gettysburg National Military Park and Cemetery, Fiscal Year Ending June 30, 1941," p. 1.

54. Coleman, a graduate of Pennsylvania State University in 1929 and the recipient of a doctorate in history from Catholic University of America, had served as superintendent of Petersburg National Battlefield and Poplar Grove National Cemetery from July 1, 1936, to March 16, 1938, and of Vicksburg National Military Park and
(continued...)

Joseph B. O'Byrne to Petrified Forest National Park with his position temporarily filled by H. Wayne Weagly; position of assistant historical aide established and filled by Bernard Levin; and replacement of J. Richard Hershey, foreman of construction and maintenance, who was called to active service as a captain in the U.S. Army, by Allan M. Schroyer.⁵⁵

An organization chart was prepared for the park on January 15, 1941, showing supervisory personnel and function and role statements for the various park administrative divisions. The administration of the park was under the direction of Superintendent McConaghie (Grade 15). There were four principal administrative subdivisions in the park under the superintendent. The CCC Camp No. 2 activities were under Granville W. Woodson, a Grade 10 project superintendent. The role and function statement for his division read:

Is the administrative official in charge of all normal operations of the 200 man CCC camp in the Park. He is charged with preparing estimates, assigning foremen and crews and supervising proper completion of jobs.

Is responsible for maintenance of equipment, inventories of property and accomplishes camp office administrative work.

Frederick Tilberg, a Grade 11 assistant historical technician, headed what would later be known as the park interpretation and visitor services division. His responsibilities were:

Plans, directs, supervises all historical research, interpretation and museum activities for Gettysburg National Military Park and Cemetery, Antietam National Battlefield Site and Cemetery, and Fort Necessity National Battlefield Site. Prepares historical publications. Prepares studies for historical restoration. Directs and supervises public contact work. Supervises guides and ranger historians who are employed by the Government.

Tilberg supervised two seasonal ranger historians (Grade 8) who assisted in visitor contact, research, and group lectures.

Samuel G. Sollenberger, the park assistant superintendent (Grade 11), supervised most aspects of park operations including clerical, maintenance and repair, and protection services. The responsibilities of Sollenberger's office were:

54.(...continued)

Cemetery from March 16, 1938, to February 1, 1941. U.S. Department of the Interior, National Park Service, *Centennial Edition, National Park Service Officials, March 1, 1972*, pp. 67, 93, 111.

55. Gettysburg National Military Park, "Annual Report for Gettysburg National Military Park and Cemetery, Fiscal Year Ending June 30, 1941," pp. 1, 3.

Supervision of clerical, accounting and purchasing activities. Assists Supt. on appropriation and other estimates. Assists Supt. in supervision of Park employees in construction and maintenance. Has administrative supervision of all Guide Activities. Supervises leasing of farms and buildings, and correlative matters. Assists Supt. in supervision of protection work covering health, sanitation, fire, wildlife. Assists in public relations problems and serves as Supt. during absence of Supt.

Has supervision over clerical, maintenance and guard force.

The role and function statement for Gettysburg National Cemetery was brief. It read:

Clarence L. Nett, Superintendent. Gr. 8

Administrative supervision of the Gettysburg National Cemetery. Does labor work and has supervision over laborer employees in the maintenance of the Cemetery. Assists visitors by giving information on the Battlefield.⁵⁶

Protection Services

In July 1935 Superintendent McConaghie described the protection services at Gettysburg for 1934-35, noting that since "park regulations provide that all Federal employees have the power of arrest," a "general protection service is rendered by all employees working in the field." As of July 1935 the regularly appointed guard force consisted of two motorcycle and two foot guards, the reduced park appropriation being responsible for the reduction of six guards to those four. It was planned, however, to place two temporary guards on duty during the summer.

In accomplishing the necessary protection for the park, according to the superintendent, every effort was taken "to impress the public with the feeling of freedom." Restrictive signs were "kept to the minimum," and warnings for minor violations were followed up by a letter from park headquarters. Of the 129 reports on park violations submitted to him during the year, McConaghie selected a few cases for personal interviews with the violators.

During 1934-35 a minimal number of arrests were made in the park. A "few minor arrests for drunkenness" were made, the violators being held overnight in the city jail and released when sober. Two arrests were "carried on to the Federal Court," one being charged

56. Organization Chart, Gettysburg National Military Park, January 15, 1941, Vertical Files, History of GNMP, Articles, Etc., GNMP Library.

with "disorderly conduct, drunken driving, and parking without lights," and the other a CCC enrollee for "operating a car without the owner's permission and without his permit."

In other law enforcement actions during 1934-35 four college students were identified as having damaged a Whitworth cannon on Oak Ridge. The young men repaired and restored the cannon, and were warned that further violations of park regulations within a year would result in court action on United States property charges.

To reduce speeding in the park speed limit and caution signs were installed in one section of the battlefield in 1934-35, and preparation of signs for the entire park were commenced. Speed traps with two guards "using stop watches over an eighth of a mile measured distance" were conducted periodically. Speeders were advised that the record of the violation would be used "as a basis of trial should further violations occur."⁵⁷

In August 1936 Superintendent McConaghie reported that the park guard force of two motorcycle officers, one of whom (Horace E. Smiley) had been promoted to Sergeant of the Guard and was also simultaneously serving as acting foreman of construction and maintenance, and two foot guards had "a rather large job." Thus, during the "hunting season and at times of special celebrations or visitations," a "number of regular park laborers" were "assigned to guard duty."

McConaghie listed the duties of the regular guard force, the responsibilities being more thorough than those he listed in 1935. The duties of the motorcycle guards were

primarily those of patrol. The entire field must be covered. The patrol starts at six in the morning and continues through to about ten in the evening. A variation of hours makes possible a late patrol at different times. Observance for fires, property damage, dangerous conditions affecting travel, inspection of buildings and advice to tourists are all added to the regular police duty of protection.

The duties of the foot guards were similar

excepting that the duties of the foot guards are applied to a more restricted area. The foot guards are assigned an area to cover for foot patrol. Their fixed station is located at a heavily-visited point. The hours are from seven in the morning to four-thirty in the afternoon. These guards are called on for considerable guide and directive service.

57. Gettysburg National Military Park, "Superintendent's Annual Report for Year 1934-1935," pp. 6-10.

Superintendent McConaghie observed that the park was gratified "to note a reduction in the number of guard reports on regulation violators." He noted:

Work activity in many sections of the Park will account somewhat for this reduction, but it is believed the erections in signs over the Park has been the largest factor in reducing the violators or violations. As before mentioned one hundred and four reports were turned in during the year. When a report is turned in, a warning and reprimand letter is sent the violator, wherein he is advised that repetition of the offense will call for a prosecution.

Speeding and reckless driving in the park had increased during 1935-36, according to the superintendent, "due to the new road construction." The new roads had eliminated dangerous curves, and thus provided speeding opportunities. Closer supervision had become necessary to enforce the park speed limit.⁵⁸

Protection services in the park were spread "very thin," according to Superintendent McConaghie's annual report for 1936-37. He observed:

The holdings and extent of this park exist in variety and are spread out over a rather large area. This fact together with a rather heavy visitation during the year presents a rather varied protection problem. 900 acres of woodlands and upwards of seventy buildings presents a fire hazard calling for protection. With as many as 15,000 visitors in a day another type of protection is needed. A constant patrol of the 23½ miles of roads is maintained. Escort duty is afforded when needed. A further type of protection concerns the wildlife within the park. The far spread boundaries of the park reach out into private areas where hunting is permitted. During hunting season it becomes necessary to increase our protection force if our own wildlife is to be preserved.

The two motorcycle and two foot guards were supervised by the Sergeant of the Guard whose duties were developed during fiscal year 1937. These were:

. . . He is provided with an automobile. The hours of duty, the patrol area and the orders of work are prepared and conducted by him. Guard reports, arrests, accidents, fire reports, inspections all are taken care of by this official. He is designated as Chief Fire Marshal and is held responsible for proper fire protection within the area. His work is naturally supervised by the superintendent.

While most infractions of park regulations were minor during fiscal year 1937, three major criminal incidents occurred. In October two CCC enrollees engaged in a fracas after

58. Gettysburg National Military Park, "Superintendent's Annual Report for Year 1935-1936," pp. 6-9.

work hours, resulting in the murder of one of the participants. Two months later a man and his wife were arrested by a park guard for pandering near the CCC camp. In June three Pittsburgh girls permitted a man posing as a park guard to enter their car as a guide one evening. After directing them to a lonely spot away from the park, he forced the women from the car at gun-point, taking their money and automobile. The car was found the next day, but the assailant escaped.⁵⁹

Although the park guard force remained substantially the same throughout the 1930s there was increasing realization on the part of Superintendent McConaghie that major changes were needed in the park protection services. In July 1938, for instance, he observed:

The protection service now in operation is about the same as it was at the time of the transfer of this park to the jurisdiction of the National Park Service. The organization of activities and the direction of these activities has been changed somewhat. However, the service remains one of guards'. A reaction to the present service is that actual guard duty requirements are secondary to that of a guide and assistance service. The sanctity of the area is very well respected by the visiting public so that police work continues at a minimum. It is rather obvious that we are rapidly approaching the stage where the guard should be replaced with a ranger. It is rather obvious that this higher qualified service is the more fitting type to the needs as they exist today.⁶⁰

Various minor changes were made in the park guard force during 1938-40. During fiscal year 1938 efforts were made to reduce the guard force in the winter and place additional temporary guards on duty during the summer.⁶¹ The following year "mounted guards" replaced "motorcycle guards" in the park.⁶² The regular guard force was reduced in fiscal year 1940 to the Sergeant of the Guard and two mounted guards, three temporary employees supplementing the force during the high visitation season. To aid law enforcement in the park cooperative understandings were developed with municipal, county, and state agencies, and park guards were deputized by the Adams County Sheriff, thus giving them authority to control traffic on the state highways adjacent to the park when co-directing convoys of visitors on a tour of the battlefield area.⁶³

59. Gettysburg National Military Park, "Superintendent's Annual Report for Year 1936-1937," pp. 7-11.

60. Gettysburg National Military Park, "Superintendent's Annual Report for Year 1937-1938," pp. 12.

61. Gettysburg National Military Park, "Superintendent's Annual Report for Year 1937-1938," p. 9.

62. Gettysburg National Military Park, "Superintendent's Preliminary Annual Report for Fiscal Year 1939," p. 4.

63. Gettysburg National Military Park, "Superintendent's Annual Report for the Fiscal Year 1940," pp. 8-10.

Maintenance

The maintenance operations at Gettysburg during 1934-35, which included repair and alterations, were under the direction of a maintenance foreman. The work force under his supervision included sixteen day-rate laborers, one stone mason, and one painter. Superintendent McConaghie observed in July 1935:

In a normal year this force is augmented with additional employees during the summer session. During the past year it has been possible to employ the regular force through the entire year. The custom previously has been to release all of the regular employees from two to three months during the winter.

The park maintenance operations, according to Superintendent McConaghie's annual report for 1934-35, were divided into three categories – buildings, roads and trails, and grounds. The superintendent described the maintenance activities, which continued on much the same basis through the late 1930s and early 1940s, under each of these categories:

1. *Buildings*. The major portion of park buildings are those existing on the leased farms within the Park. Most repair work on these is done by the tenant. Where he cannot do it the Park force is called in. . . .

2. *Roads and Trails*: The Park force has been utilized to keep the 23½ miles of roads in repair. Again the actual repair work has been minimized because of emergency work programs. . . . With all these contributions the Park force has still been called on for patching work, for cleaning of drains and gutters, and such maintenance work.

3. *Grounds*: The major maintenance problem of the Park rests in its grounds. Of the 2530.22 acres owned, 1410.14 acres are in leased farms, 900 acres in woodlands ranging from forest growth to open Park woodlands. Approximately 52 acres of road and approximately 170 acres of open meadowland. Of the latter approximately 100 acres are of the lawn type.

From the foregoing it is obvious that the lawn type area maintenance will occupy the major time during the growing season. Mowing, grading, seeding, rolling, and fertilizing work is called for.

During the dormant season the woodlands, fences, drains, etc. are given special attention.

The 1728 major commemorative structures and some 772 minor markers and tablets present maintenance problems of repair and painting that spread over the entire year. . . .

There are six streams coursing through the Park. Every year sees high water of some description which calls for clean-up and repair along the streams.⁶⁴

Reduced appropriations for fiscal year 1936 kept the maintenance force at "minimum strength" – thirteen day-rate laborers, two skilled laborers, and one carpenter's helper. Thus, the assistance rendered by ECW projects and other public works funds aided in keeping up the appearance of the park and provided for virtually all of the repair and restoration activities in the park.

The issue of skilled versus unskilled labor became an issue at Gettysburg in 1936. According to Superintendent McConaghie, a "natural change in maintenance methods" had

taken place so that today considerable machinery has been introduced. This machinery tends to alter the duties of the laborer. To meet these changed conditions, a classified laborer examination has been given, from which we hope to correct the somewhat unsatisfactory labor provision now existent. Authority has been requested of the Civil Service Commission to make an incidental use of the unskilled laborers for some of the skilled work which has come into being.

During fiscal year 1936 some 7,342 man-days of labor were carried out in maintenance operations in the park at a cost of \$15,204.86. Increased winter use of the park warranted more year-round maintenance. To meet this requirement with available funds, the maintenance force worked five-day weeks throughout the year.⁶⁵

Steps were taken during 1936-37 to deal with questions raised by the Civil Service Commission relative "to proper assignment of duties" on the maintenance force in the park. The position of junior foreman of construction and maintenance was filled from the Civil Service register. J. Richard Hershey received the appointment, and a mechanic's position was established and filled by Leroy A. Sanders. The regular maintenance force was placed on an annual basis and consisted of one maintenance foreman, one carpenter's helper, one mechanic, nine skilled laborers, and five laborers.⁶⁶ McConaghie observed that "regular park funds

64. Gettysburg National Military Park, "Superintendent's Annual Report for Year 1934-1935," pp. 10-14.

65. Gettysburg National Military Park, "Superintendent's Annual Report for Year 1935-1936," pp. 9-11.

66. Gettysburg National Military Park, "Superintendent's Annual Report for Year 1936-1937," pp. 11-16.

were used to do but needed minor work" in repairs and alterations, most of that work being accomplished with ECW funds.⁶⁷

Finances

Appropriations and expenditures for the park through the 1930s were generally low but stable, forcing management to rely heavily on Emergency Conservation Works and other public works funding to maintain, operate, and preserve the battlefield. During fiscal year 1935 the park received \$32,000 in regular appropriations. The funds were expended under four categories:

Administration	\$7,562.75
Protection	4,865.30
Maintenance, Repair & Operation	16,347.88
Equipment	<u>3,148.53</u>
	\$31,924.46

In addition rents collected from tenants on government-owned farms in the park totaled \$2,086, a sum applied to maintenance of the park.⁶⁸

In the spring of 1936 park management was advised that the collected farm rents would no longer be applied to the park budget, that the new appropriation act would revoke the existing 1897 law, and that henceforth farm income must be submitted to the general treasury. Superintendent McConaghie observed in August 1936 "that we complied with the order" with "regret." The farm "income, though small, served to meet many a crisis and its loss has been, and will be felt."⁶⁹

Regular park appropriations for the period 1936-40 ranged between \$35,860 in fiscal year 1936 and \$54,056 in fiscal year 1940.⁷⁰

67. Gettysburg National Military Park, "Superintendent's Annual Report for the Fiscal Year 1940," pp. 11-17.

68. Gettysburg National Military Park, "Superintendent's Annual Report for Year 1934-1935," pp. 16-17.

69. Gettysburg National Military Park, "Superintendent's Annual Report for Year 1935-1936," pp. 13-14.

70. Gettysburg National Military Park, "Superintendent's Annual Report for the Fiscal Year 1940," n.p.

Education, Research, and Interpretation

In July 1935 Superintendent McConaghie described the educational program in the park as one relying heavily on ECW personnel. He observed:

While this Park was under the War Department little effort was made toward promoting an educational program. Their effort was directed at the correct marking of the field. This has been well done so that the ground work is rather well complete for the promotion of an educational program.

The emergency work, principally CWA and ECW, have afforded an opportunity to accomplish more research both to establish facts on things questioned of what has been done before and on newly developed questions. This data adds to the needed material for an educational program.

There has been but one publication gotten out for this Park, a statistical record of monuments, markers, troops, etc.

In the field of active education the Historical staff assigned to the ECW here has served to guide groups visiting the field, special visitors, and for individuals who call at the office. Their contribution has been extremely valuable.

McConaghie went on to describe the licensed guide service as an integral part of the park educational program under the supervision of the park superintendent. He noted:

During the past year the active roster has been permitted to drop to 84. It is not intended to increase the roster but rather allow it to gradually drop to a lower number. The demand for guide service appears to be decreasing. An explanation appears to be that the survivors of the Battle are becoming so few and that their grandsons and daughters are now the visitors. The interest of the present day visitor does not seem to rest in the detail desired by those of a few years back. The fact that the ratio between those visitors taking guides to those not taking guides has been dropping rather indicates further proof. The ratio a few years ago held about one out of four visitors took a guide. During this past travel year the ratio has held as high as eighteen without a guide to one with a guide. . . .

During the past year the guides conducted over the field 69,016 visitors and approximately 23,005 automobiles and buses.

The guide tours are of two kinds. A regular or long tour covering approximately 22 miles and consuming about two hours time. The Special or short tour covering up to 12 miles and up to one hour of time.⁷¹

In July 1936 Superintendent McConaghie observed that educational work at Gettysburg was "still in its infancy." The major portion of such work had "been accomplished under the ECW program" since available park funds had "not permitted an opportunity for progress." Emergency funds, however, had "permitted a start" and plans were "under way to materially advance a program during the coming year."

The only educational work accomplished with regular park funds in fiscal year 1936 was through the employment of temporary park rangers for summer work on the battlefield. Two ranger historians were stationed "at strategic points to assist the visitor." The rangers were supplied with park folders, and among other duties they conducted a visitation survey and addressed groups both on and off the battlefield.⁷²

The park educational program was enhanced on May 1, 1937, by the appointment of Frederick Tilberg as assistant historian on the regular park staff. His first assignment was to prepare a long-range historical program for the park. Meanwhile, two temporary ranger historians were again employed during the summer months to conduct visitor contact and information duties at the newly opened entrance stations. To protect visitors from unwarranted solicitation by the battlefield guides, it was determined that the rangers would make the initial contact with tourists and that guides would be permitted to solicit on the highway at a point about 100 yards beyond the station. Later that summer, when the rangers found it impossible to meet all visitors who drove into the stations, guides were permitted to approach cars at the stations.⁷³

71. Gettysburg National Military Park, "Superintendent's Annual Report for Year 1934-1935," pp. 18-20. Two junior historians had been attached to the two CCC camps since 1933. These men assisted in the research and educational program of the park and conducted group tours over the battlefield. The park's educational program was enhanced by the purchase of the Tipton Collection of Civil War photographs in 1935. More data on the purchase may be found in U.S. Department of the Interior, National Park Service, News Release, "Tipton Collection of Gettysburg Battlefield Negatives Transferred to the National Archives," July 9, 1965, WASO Park Archives. The, glass-plate negatives of the Tipton Collection were transferred to the National Archives in 1965.

72. Gettysburg National Military Park, "Superintendent's Annual Report for Year 1935-36," pp. 14-15. One of these seasonal ranger historians, Jacob Sheads, provided the author with data for this section during a telephone interview on October 23, 1985. Sheads worked at the park until his retirement in 1974, after which he served periodically as a reemployed annuitant until 1980.

73. Gettysburg National Military Park, "Superintendent's Annual Report for Year 1936-1937," pp. 24-26. Also see Historian's Narrative Reports, April 1937-December 1938, GNMP Library.

Fiscal year 1938 witnessed tremendous growth in the development of educational and research activities at Gettysburg under the direction of Assistant Historian Tilberg. His staff consisted of two CCC junior historians, and two ranger historians were employed from June to September. The work conducted by his staff included

public contact work, lectures and tours of the Battlefield, preparation and distribution of literature on the Battle of Gettysburg and natural scenery within the Park, the compilation of reports bearing on educational activities, preparation of historical and interpretive signs, the preparation of historical information in support of the Master Plan of the Park, and the supplying of information to the numerous verbal and written requests for information relative to the Battle of Gettysburg and Gettysburg National Military Park.

The park literature referred to was significant in that prior to this time park visitors had been forced to rely upon commercial guidebooks for such information.

Superintendent McConaghie described the activities and accomplishments of the ranger historians, CCC junior historians, and assistant historian in detail in his annual report in July 1938. Among other things, he noted:

Public contact work has been limited largely to the Park Museum in the Park office, and to the Park Entrance Stations located on the Chambersburg and Emmitsburg roads. This work at the Entrance Stations has been handled largely by the two Ranger Historians and one Junior Historian.

During the tourist season of 1937, the Ranger Historians and a Junior Historian were stationed full time at the Entrance Stations for the purpose of meeting visitors and to collect travel figures for making a comparative study of the total number of cars on the highway passing the station, and the number of cars which stopped at the Entrance Stations for information. . . .⁷⁴

By 1939 the historical work at Gettysburg had been divided into two categories – education and research. Educational efforts were defined as guide work, lectures, public contact, talks, and preparation and distribution of informational literature. Research was conducted "both to answer recurring inquiries and to substantiate facts that have been

74. Gettysburg National Military Park, "Superintendent's Annual Report for Year 1937-1938," pp. 28-31. Further data on historical-educational work at Gettysburg during July-November 1938 may be seen in Branch of Historic Sites, Gettysburg Reports, 1938, File No. 207, Gettysburg, CCF, RG 79, and Historian's Narrative Reports, April 1937-December 1938, GNMP Library.

offered." All work that affected "the terrain or historical values of the area" required thorough study before plans could be approved or work started.⁷⁵

In fiscal year 1940 the work formerly termed educational and research was combined under the designation "interpretation." Under the direction of Assistant Historian Tilberg the park interpretive efforts were carried out by two temporary ranger historians and two CCC junior historical technicians. The interpretive work was described by Superintendent McConaghie in September 1940:

One of the major tasks confronting this area is that of interpretation. First there must be an assembling of facts then planning to so present these facts as to accurately describe the historical happenings here. . . . Next there is the work of presenting these findings to the public. The preparation of materials and the distribution of these materials; the means and methods of verbally placing the findings before the public; the search for, selecting, preparation for presentation and presenting of visual aids to an understanding, all these enter into the task of interpreting [sic] the area.

In addition to this type of work there is the research and planning necessary to support and guide the development of the park. Restoration is a key note and an essential guide in development. Further development within the park has as its primary purpose aiding the public to a better understanding of the historical event that took place here. Hence the interpretative work becomes an essential part of the park program. . . .⁷⁶

Visitation

Accurate tabulation of visitation statistics at Gettysburg was a problem for Park Service administrators. In July 1935 Superintendent McConaghie commented on the difficulty and described steps taken during the fiscal year to obtain more detailed visitation statistics:

The Gettysburg National Military Park is approached by thirteen separate highways. Access to the Battlefield may be had over any of these roads. Thus it can be seen that recording the actual number of visitors is rather impossible. Checks were made on visitors to determine a ratio of those to the number recorded as having taken guides. This method has, of course, provided

75. Gettysburg National Military Park, "Superintendent's Preliminary Annual Report for Fiscal Year 1939," pp. 9-10, and Historian's Narrative Reports, April 1937-December 1938 and January 1939-December 1940, GNMP Library.

76. Gettysburg National Military Park, "Superintendent's Annual Report for the Fiscal year 1940," n.p., and Historian's Narrative Reports, January 1939-December 1940, GNMP Library. Further data on the park interpretive program may be seen in Roberts to the Director, July 1, 1940, File No. 833-05, Gettysburg, CCF, RG 79.

merely an estimate. To get a more accurate count tabulators have been operated by the foot guards at Spangler's Spring and Little Round Top, as well as by the Superintendent at the National Cemetery. These tabulators give the secured tabulation and an average is struck as to a fair number of visitors. The tabulating was started in March 1935. With it came a revelation as to the number of visitors who were on the field without guides.

Based on these tabulation procedures it was estimated that 370,531 persons visited the park and that 213,496 automobiles drove over park roads from June 30, 1934, to July 1, 1935.⁷⁷

Visitation to the park increased during 1935-36. From field checks made during the year the park staff determined that the proper ratio for estimating the total number of park visitors was six without guides to one with guides. Accordingly, it was estimated that 604,177 persons visited the park and 143,409 automobiles entered the park between October 1, 1935, and September 30, 1936. While most autos had Pennsylvania license plates, spot checks indicated that it was "a customary thing to find at least twenty different States represented in the Park at one time." As many as 33 automobiles from different states had been counted passing through the national cemetery during an 11-hour period.⁷⁸

Park visitation continued to increase during the 1937-40 period. Estimated visitor counts for those years indicated that an average of some 625,000 persons and 160,000 automobiles entered the park annually. Fiscal year 1939, however, was an exception as 1,554,238 persons visited the park (a park record to date) as the result of the 75th anniversary of the Battle of Gettysburg on July 1-4, 1938.⁷⁹

During the early 1940s the park staff developed a form letter which was sent to school and college officials to encourage educational tours of Gettysburg. The letter sent out during the spring of 1941 stated:

School groups, particularly classes in history, are encouraged to visit the Battlefield of Gettysburg as a part of their study of American History. It is suggested that such school groups visit the National Park Office, located in the Post Office Building at Gettysburg, for a lecture on the relief map and to examine the display there. This service is free. The services of private guides,

77. Gettysburg National Military Park, "Superintendent's Annual Report for Year 1934-1935," p. 21. The estimated totals for the 1933 and 1934 travel years were 240,350, and 298,629, respectively.

78. Gettysburg National Military Park, "Superintendent's Annual Report for Year 1935-1936," pp. 16-17.

79. Gettysburg National Military Park, "Superintendent's Annual Report for Year 1936-1937," pp. 26-27; *Ibid.*, "Superintendent's Annual Report for Year 1937-1938," pp. 33-34; *Ibid.*, "Superintendent's Preliminary Annual Report for Fiscal Year 1939," pp. 1, 11; and *Ibid.*, "Superintendent's Annual Report for the Fiscal year 1940," n.p.

who operate under the supervision of the Superintendent, is available for groups or individuals who desire a guided tour of the Battlefield. For such a tour, an established fee is charged.⁸⁰

Special Occasions

In his annual report for fiscal year 1935 Superintendent McConaghie again observed that "Memorial Day is the one National Holiday specially recognized at Gettysburg." According to the superintendent, the Sons of Union Veterans sponsored fitting exercises at the national cemetery. "For the past number of years the President of the United States" had given "one address at these exercises during his term." On Memorial Day 1935 Pennsylvania Governor George H. Earle III presented the address with some 30,000 persons in attendance.⁸¹

Several special occasions were held at Gettysburg during fiscal year 1936, highlighted by the Memorial Day observance with Indiana Governor Paul V. McNutt speaking to some 50,000 persons at the national cemetery. The State and National Conventions of the United National Association of Post Office Clerks were held at Gettysburg during August 24-30, 1935. On November 19 the annual anniversary observance of the dedication of the national cemetery was held. The Knights Templar convened its sixth annual Ascension Day Festival on May 3, 1936.

In addition to these major celebrations, each month, according to McConaghie, witnessed "at least one excursion of varying size." He described examples of these excursions:

The Reading Railroad conducted two excursions of school children, the first with 1,060 passengers, and the second with 700. Various Army excursions came to the field, such as the National Guard Officers of New Jersey; Carlisle Medical School; detachments of CMTC and ORC and Chemical Warfare School; and, the most technical of all, the Army War College. . . .

District Lions, Rotary and other luncheon club meetings had a tour of the Battlefield as part of their entertainment program.

80. Coleman to Dear Sir, April 2, 1941, Historical Files, MARO-CR.

81. Gettysburg National Military Park, "Superintendent's Annual Report for Year 1934-1935," pp. 22-23.

Many troops of Boy Scouts both visited the field and camped overnight on the field. The largest such group came from the Harrisburg district and numbered some 150 boys.⁸²

The 75th anniversary celebration of the Battle of Gettysburg held on July 1-4, 1938, was one of the outstanding events in the history of Gettysburg National Military Park. It not only brought to Gettysburg the largest crowds (estimated at 775,000) in its history to date but also provided one of the most outstanding human interest events in the nation's history. The publicity given the event, billed as the final reunion of the Blue and the Gray, served to bring the battlefield to the attention of the country as it never had since the battle itself.

The celebration was planned and organized by a five-member United States Commission (Secretary of War Harry H. Woodring, chairman) appointed by President Roosevelt in cooperation with a nine-member Pennsylvania State Commission headed by Senator John S. Rice as chairman. The Commonwealth of Pennsylvania appropriated \$90,000 for the event and \$5,000 to the Peace Memorial Fund, established to erect a peace memorial to be dedicated during the celebration. The federal government appropriated \$1,186,000 for the commemoration. In addition, Congress authorized coinage of 50,000 commemorative silver half dollars for the anniversary. To plan, erect, and purchase ground for the Eternal Light Peace Memorial, \$50,000 was expended, the funds being raised through individual state appropriations and sale of the coins.

In preparation for the celebration the Peace Memorial, which had been constructed on a parcel of land purchased by the Pennsylvania State Commission, was completed on Oak Hill on June 15.⁸³ Tent camps for the Northern and Southern veterans were set up to the north and northwest of Gettysburg. Provision was made for an encampment south of Gettysburg along the Emmitsburg Road for some 3,000 regular army troops who would participate in the celebration. Contingents of the Quartermaster Corps, engaged in the construction of the camps, encamped on the abandoned CCC Camp No. 1 for 45 days and averaged 100 men per day.

82. Gettysburg National Military Park, "Superintendent's Annual Report for Year 1935-1936," pp. 17-18.

83. The Peace Memorial was located on Oak Hill, one mile northwest of Gettysburg. Selected by the Pennsylvania State Commission and National Park officials, the site was one of the highest points in the park. Ground-breaking ceremonies were held on February 15, 1938. Paul Philippe Cret was the architect of the memorial, the sculpture work being done by Lee Lawrie. The cost of the memorial was approximately \$60,000, the funds having been contributed by Pennsylvania, New York, Wisconsin, Indiana, Tennessee, Virginia, Illinois, and the federal government. The Eternal Light burned in a bronze urn which surmounted the shaft. The pilot light burned continuously, the large flame burning twelve hours during each twenty-four hour period. Gettysburg National Military Park, Gettysburg, Pennsylvania, "The Peace Memorial," [1938], Historical Files, MARO-CR.

Some 1,845 Civil War veterans (of the surviving 8,000 men) were paid their expenses from their homes to Gettysburg and return to attend the anniversary events. A complete tented city to accommodate some 6,800 individuals was erected at Gettysburg. Each veteran, the average age of whom was 94 years, was accompanied by an attendant whose expenses were covered.

The four-day anniversary event featured a variety of special themes, demonstrations, and exhibits. July 1, Reunion Day, featured speeches, a band concert, and appearances by descendants of prominent Northern and Southern leaders at College Stadium. July 2, Veterans' Day, honored veterans of all wars since 1865 and featured a seven-mile parade and addresses with dignitaries from various veterans' organizations participating. July 3, Peace Memorial Day, featured the dedication of the Eternal Light Peace Memorial by President Franklin Roosevelt before a crowd estimated by some at 200,000 persons, followed by aerial maneuvers performed by a U.S. Army Air Corps squadron from Langley Field, Virginia. July 4, United States Army Day, featured military demonstrations by 3,000 U.S. Army troops (air, cavalry, artillery, tank, infantry), followed by a two-hour fireworks display at Oak Hill.⁸⁴

To accommodate the crowds the National Park Service took steps to improve the park "for safe and convenient inspection and sightseeing." Provision was made for additional automobile parking and drinking water and sanitation facilities. Nine historians were on duty at area headquarters units at Oak Ridge, McMillan Woods, Devil's Den, the Pennsylvania

84. "Gettysburg Farewell: The Blue and the Gray Light an Eternal Flame," *Newsweek*, XII (July 11, 1938), 12-13; "Visit Gettysburg Blue and Gray Reunion, 75th Anniversary, Battle of Gettysburg, 1938," and "Program 75th Anniversary, Battle of Gettysburg, Final Reunion of the Blue and Gray, Gettysburg, Pennsylvania, June 29 to July 6, 1938," Vertical Files, 75th Anniversary & Grand Reunion 1938: Printed Material, GNMP Library; U.S. Congress, House, Committee on Military Affairs, *For the Establishment of a Commission in Commemoration of the Seventy-Fifth Anniversary of the Battle of Gettysburg in 1938*, 74th Cong., 2d Sess., 1936, H. Rept. 2381, pp. 1-2; U.S. Congress, House, Committee on Coinage, Weights, and Measures, *To Authorize the Coinage of 50-Cent Pieces in Commemoration of the Seventy-Fifth Anniversary of the Battle of Gettysburg*, 74th Cong., 2d Sess., 1936, H. Rept. 2426, p. 1; U.S. Congress, Senate, Committee on Banking and Currency, *To Authorize the Coinage of 50-Cent Pieces in Commemoration of the Seventy-Fifth Anniversary of the Battle of Gettysburg*, 74th Cong., 2d Sess., 1936, S. Rept. 2072, p. 1; U.S. Congress, Senate, Committee on Military Affairs, *Authorizing an Appropriation to Aid in Defraying the Expenses of Observance of the Seventy-Fifth Anniversary of the Battle of Gettysburg, To Be Held at Gettysburg, Pa.*, 75th Cong., 3d Sess., 1938, S. Rept. 1575, pp. 1-4; U.S. Congress, House, Committee on Military Affairs, *Authorizing An Appropriation to Aid in Defraying the Expenses of the Observance of the Seventy-Fifth Anniversary of the Battle of Gettysburg*, 75th Cong., 3d Sess., 1938, H. Rept. 1919, pp. 1-3; U.S. Congress, House, Committee on Appropriations, *Appropriation to Aid in Defraying Expenses of the Observance of the Seventy-Fifth Anniversary of the Battle of Gettysburg*, 75th Cong., 3d Sess., 1938, H. Rept. 2424, pp. 1 -2; U.S. Congress, House, Committee on Appropriations, *Supplemental Estimate of Appropriation for the War Department, Fiscal Years 1938 and 1939*, 75th Cong., 3d Sess., 1938, H. Doc. 663, pp. 1-3; Gettysburg National Military park, "Superintendent's Annual Report for Year 1937-1938," pp. 34-35; Gettysburg National Military Park, "Superintendent's Preliminary Annual Report for Fiscal Year 1939," pp. 11-13, and McConaghie to the Director, September 23, 1938, File No. 601-03, Gettysburg, CCF, RG 79.

Monument, and Spangler's Spring and a field office at the Weikert House to supply information to visitors, distribute park maps and folders, and provide "lecture service."⁸⁵

Fiscal year 1940 saw six noteworthy events held in the park. These events, according to McConaghie, included:

1. *July 1, 2, 3*: Annual Encampment of Boy Scouts. During the 75th Anniversary Celebration the Boy Scout organization rendered very valuable aid in the handling of the veterans. Following the event they organized and decided to hold an encampment each year at Gettysburg on the anniversary of the event. Last July 225 boys camped on the area.

2. *October 26, 27, 28*: Longstreet Memorial Association. During these days representatives of the Association studied the field to determine a location for the proposed memorial of General Longstreet. Mrs. Longstreet met with the organization. A tentative site was selected near where the right flank of the Confederate Army rested at the time of the Battle.

3. *November 19*: Anniversary of the Dedication of the National Cemetery. Every year on this date the local post of the Sons of Union Veterans conduct a memorial exercise to this historic event.

4. *May 5*: Ascension Day. Each year the Knights Templars hold exercises in the National Cemetery on this date. This past exercise witnessed the assembling of over 1000 Knights. They paraded from Gettysburg to the Cemetery where the exercise was held. An audience of approximately 5000 witnessed the affair.

5. *May 30*: Memorial Day. Annually an outstanding Memorial Service is held on this date in the National Cemetery. The services this past year were conducted by the Sons of Union Veterans. Governor James of Pennsylvania was the speaker for the occasion. An audience of over 5000 observed the colorful parade and witnessed the exercises within the National Cemetery.

6. *June 24-July 1*: Keystone Girls Camp. The Legion Auxiliary of Pennsylvania sponsored an encampment of girls from Pennsylvania at Gettysburg. 135 girls spent the days at Gettysburg. Among the activities was a tour of the Battlefield.⁸⁶

85. U.S. Department of the Interior, National Park Service, Gettysburg National Military Park, Press Memorandum, June 21, 1938, Historical Files, MARO-CR.

86. Gettysburg National Military Park, "Superintendent's Annual Report for the Fiscal Year 1940," n.p. On June 28, 1941, the General Longstreet Memorial Site was dedicated with elaborate ceremonies featuring 1,800 men of the 71st Coast Artillery from Fort Story, Virginia. Gettysburg National Military Park, "Annual Report for Gettysburg National Military Park and Cemetery, Fiscal Year Ending June 30, 1941," p. 2, and Coleman to Director, National Park Service, July 9, 1941, File No. 00-General, Gettysburg National Military Park, RG 79, Archives Branch, Federal Archives and Records Center, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania. Hereinafter, these records will be referred to as RG 79, FRC, Philadelphia.

Park Planning

Less than a year after the National Park Service takeover of Gettysburg a proposed six-year development program for the park was issued. In many ways, this program, dated June 4, 1934, can be considered a preliminary master plan that guided initial park development planning during the first years of National Park Service administration.

The foremost principle guiding the planning and development of the park under the National Park Service was restoration of the battlefield to its condition in 1863. In a memorandum to Director Cammerer in July 1934 Superintendent McConaghie stated this principle:

The Park should, as far as possible, represent the condition as found in 1863. It should in every possible way be restored to the condition of that time. Formal features and the demands of modern transportation necessitate a certain amount of work foreign to the desired 1863 atmosphere. Every attempt will be made to keep such development to the minimum. A general program restoration is established as a guide to all work undertaken.⁸⁷

Thus, historic field sizes were altered to combine farmsteads and provide more favorable economic conditions for tenant farmers, removing fencing, boulders, drainages, and vegetation in the process. The issue of making changes to the historic terrain to accommodate agricultural use is an ongoing one in the park.

In the absence of an approved park master plan the six-year program guided the thinking of park officials as they considered tentative proposals for development of the park during the mid-1930s. In July 1935, for instance, Superintendent McConaghie offered suggestions rather than definite plans for park development, noting, however, that some of the suggestions were "on the way toward realization at the present time." He concluded his comments on this topic by observing:

The students of this field today differ materially in the type of interest they have in the field from those of yesterday. An educational program is a vital need today. Accordingly the primary objective of the present administration we may say lies primarily without the physical plant. Within our task is but to preserve and restore.⁸⁸

87. McConaghie to Director, National Park Service, July 30, 1934, File No. 601-05, Gettysburg, CCF, RG 79.

88. Gettysburg National Military Park "Superintendent's Annual Report for 1934-1935," pp. 36-38, 40. Application of this policy resulted in the removal of the Forney Barn in 1937-38.

In August 1936 Superintendent McConaghie announced that a preliminary master plan for the park had been prepared. After the plan had been studied, corrected, and approved, "definite objectives" would "be formed that have been rather hazy." Meanwhile, the battlefield, according to the superintendent, continued to be a visitor attraction:

. . . Both those historically and recreationally inclined find a satisfaction in this Park. The task of the administration continues to be that of preserving that which has been done affecting a restoration where modernism may have crept in, improving to promote an ease of education, a safety in traffic and a desire to extend a visitation. The work being carried on is in no way disturbing to the purpose factor.

As time changes, those having a personal relationship to the field get fewer. The new visitor differs as he is further removed. An active educational program, involving entrance stations, museums and qualified historians comes more necessary. This is one of the primary objectives.⁸⁹

The park master plan was approved in fiscal year 1937. The plan emphasized preservation, restoration, accessibility, usability, and education in promotion of "a proper appreciation of both the park and historical values" which existed in the area. Superintendent McConaghie concluded his annual report for that year by stating:

. . . The chief visitor of a few years ago was the survivor of this battle or his children. These people had a personal interest in and knowledge of the engagements which took place here. The visitor today lacks this direct touch. He comes rather to a park and to an area over which a battle was fought or where President Lincoln delivered the immortal address. To the visitor of yesterday the monuments had a particular meaning while to the one of today many of these monuments merely exist. An emotional stage caused the erection of monument after monument with the interest primarily in the purpose of structure rather than in the structure itself. . . .

Today the structure itself is primary. The result is not so favorable. It is very obvious that the day has arrived when any further monumentation will be definitely concerned with design. We find this fact supported by the structures last erected along West Confederate Avenue. The task before the field is to carefully plant so that the numerous monuments will appear to fit and be screened so as not to unduly affect the landscape.

The primary purpose is to preserve an area of great historical value in such a manner as to permit the visitor to visualize conditions of the day. A promoted educational program is definitely needed to replace the personal knowledge of yesterday. Necessary conveniences to provide for the health and comfort of the visitor and safety measures so that he may drive or walk with

89. Gettysburg National Military Park, "Superintendent's Annual Report for Year 1935-1936," pp. 33-34.

the least possible danger. To him, this is a memorial park presenting an area of 1863. The word, "Park" and the date, "1863" are two definite guiding factors placed in front of the developer and administrator today. A certain amount of modernity is, of course, necessary. Where this appears, it must not be too obvious. Restoration, preservation, accessibility and usability are the primary objectives of physical work conducted in this park. coupled with these should be educational objective effort so that the field may be understandable. . . .

In concluding this report, attention is directed to the Master Plan wherein future development is set forth. These plans propose work toward the objectives mentioned plus that of protection through the acquisition of adjacent privately owned areas which now, through their private ownership, contain potential dangers. These plans afford what has been badly needed the past few years, that of ordered and approved objectives.⁹⁰

The park master plan continued to be updated, revised, and reorganized each year during 1939-41. The annual editions included historical_base maps with supporting documentation, interpretive tour and general development plans with accompanying texts, and policy statements with implementation rationale. All early NPS master plans recognized the limits or boundaries of the park to entail 15,360 acres – the limits of the Sickles Map and the Establishing Act, as interpreted by the NPS and its predecessor, the War Department. Tracts considered for land acquisition continued to include any of the properties within those limits which were threatened.⁹¹

Development of Farm Policy

By the mid-1930s park management was attempting to develop a policy governing the treatment and use of the farm lands on the battlefield. In the spring of 1935 Junior Historian Louis E. King prepared a report that addressed the problems facing the National Park Service managing the farm lands at Gettysburg:

90. Gettysburg National Military Park, "Superintendent's Annual Report for Year 1936-1937," pp. 46-48.

91. Branch of Historic Sites, Gettysburg National Military Park Master Plan, 1939, September 2, 1939; McConaghie to Regional Director, Region One, December 26, 1940, January 2, 6, 1941; Roberts to Superintendent, Gettysburg National Military Park, January 16, 1941; Chief of Planning, Washington Office, to Director, National Park Service, April 25, 1941; Johnston to Director, National Park Service, April 2, 1941; Chief of Planning, Washington Office to Regional Director, Region One, April 24, 1941; Coleman to Regional Director, Region One, April 28, 1941; and Associate Park Planner, Washington Office to Superintendent, Gettysburg National Military Park, May 12, 1941; File No. 600-01, Gettysburg, CCF, RG 79; and Coleman to Regional Director, Region One Headquarters, April 28, 1941, Gettysburg Master Plan and General Management Plan Files, 1941-77, GNMP Library.

More than 50 per cent of the land acquired (1,304.4 acres) was farm land which was cultivated during the battle. The idea of preservation was uppermost in the minds of the Commission and in order to perpetuate these cultivated areas, as such, a policy of leasing the farms to private individuals was established. This policy has been in operation for the past forty years. When the Gettysburg National Military Park was transferred in 1933 to the National Park Service of the Department of the Interior, the accomplishments as well as the imperfections in the park were inherited.

The question that concerns the present administration is whether the old policy should be adhered to or whether a new policy should be adopted. It is the opinion that some change should be made.

After considerable research King wrote that he supported a policy advocating a middle course between the conflicting viewpoints of preservation "solely from an historical viewpoint" and the "tendency toward innovations based upon modern concepts." "Dogged adherence to either point of view" nullified "the benefits to be derived from a happy combination of both." Hence he advocated a farm policy that took into consideration "the trend of progress at the same time preserving the historical continuity of the areas involved."

After describing the fourteen historic farms in the park and assessing their historical significance, King provided a brief history of the lease system in the park since 1895. In that year the Gettysburg National Park Commission established a revocable lease system whereby the lessee rented the land for a specified number of years at a yearly rental "subject to revocation at will by the Secretary of War." Of the six stipulations in the lease the most important was No. 3:

The lessee shall use the property for agricultural purposes, and the portions thereof to be cultivated, the nature of the crops to be raised, the portions of land to be in pasture and in meadow, shall be as directed by lessor's agent, and the lessee shall farm the land according to the best approved methods practiced in the vicinity, having regard to rotation of cultivated crops and due proportions of pasture and meadow lands; and in seeding the land to grass, he will sow in the spring of each year, beginning the year this lease is executed, on all lands required by the Park Commissioners to be seeded, clean timothy grass seed at the rate of four quarts to the acre, and will also sow, on all land on which fall grain is growing, clear red clover seed at the rate of four quarts to the acre.

This stipulation provided for general supervision of the farm lands, a job performed by William Storrick for the commission for a number of years prior to 1923. When Storrick became physically incapacitated that year, no one was assigned to replace him, thus leaving the general upkeep of the farms primarily in the hands of the tenants.

When the National Park Service assumed jurisdiction of Gettysburg in 1933 the revocable lease system was replaced by one-year special use permits. The permits were instituted by Superintendent McConaghie as an interim procedure in lieu of establishment of a definite farm policy. As the old leases expired the new permits were substituted.

Both systems provided for semi-annual rent payments. The total annual income from the leasing of the farms, including the use of the buildings on the land, amounted to \$1,985 or approximately \$1.52 per acre. During 1934-35 PWA funds totaling more than \$23,000 were spent on repairs and partial restoration of the buildings. Accordingly, King concluded:

It is evident that the question of balancing such an expenditure by rents received is impossible, since it would require the collection of twelve years rent during which time further expenditures would have to be made for upkeep. In view of these facts, it is also evident that the Government is not interested in receiving pecuniary compensation from these farms but perhaps are more interested in the preservation and maintenance of the areas for historical consideration.

Relative to the subject of land distribution on the farms King observed that under "the old system, the results of which exist today, the Commission prorated land indiscriminately and disregarded property lines." This policy had brought about "a condition whereby the land" was "cut up into small areas that can neither be farmed economically from the viewpoint of the tenant nor satisfactorily from the viewpoint of the administration." Thus, approximately \$9,000 in expenditures were necessary "to put the farms in condition for successful farming."⁹²

King proposed a series of changes in the park's farm policy, some of which would be implemented during the next several years. Among his recommendations were proposals to appoint "an individual with the necessary training along agricultural lines" to "act in the capacity of field agent and supervisor" and that the government "purchase and distribute fertilizer and other supplies" to "insure the proper upkeep of the farms." The cost of such items would be prorated and added to the rental of the property.

In his report King proposed various schemes for redistributing the land on many of the farms in the park as well as returning several active farms "into park area." He urged, however,

92. Despite King's critique, the commission had not disregarded property lines. Except where avenues interfered with historic field patterns and sizes, the farms remained intact and were rented by tenant farmers who resided on them. The small areas into which the farms were divided was the 1863 condition which had been retained virtually intact until NPS intervention as per this farm policy.

that the Biggs, Culp, and Codori farms remain as they are at present. Also that the Masonheimer and Althoff farms be maintained as they are at present. The matter of revenue and the fact that a considerable amount of money has been spent on the repair of the buildings warrant this proposal. However, in the future these farms should be abandoned as such, since all of the buildings were erected after the Civil War and the farms, themselves were established after the war. . . .

Implementation of these proposals would "cause to be vacated several buildings" that were "at present used by tenants on the farms." These structures were the Bryan, Hummelbaugh, Weikert, Klingel, Wentz, and Slyder houses. King proposed that the Hummelbaugh, Weikert, and Slyder houses "be restored on the exterior and that the interior be renovated with modern appliances and equipment" and leased to park employees. The Bryan house should be "reduced to its original state [restored to its original size] and used as a guard and contact station." It was also recommended that the interior and exterior of Meade's Headquarters be restored and maintained as a field museum.

King concluded his report by stating that "the proposals that we have advocated are not to be considered as a panacea for the farm situation." The adoption of such proposals, however, would "ameliorate the conditions and place them on a more workable basis, both from an administrative and agricultural aspect." At the same time, the "historical significance of the area" would "be preserved."⁹³

The proposals by King for consolidation of farming activities and removal of small farms from active agricultural use were accepted as the park's "farm policy." The initial step in implementing the policy was taken when the Weikert, Hummelbaugh, and Bryan farms were taken out of agricultural production in 1935-36.⁹⁴

As a result of King's continuing research and recommendations Superintendent McConaghie and his staff prepared in November 1938 a formal draft policy statement for the

93. Louis E. King, "Farm Policy: Farm Areas in the Gettysburg National Military Park," [ca. Spring, 1935], pp. 1-32, File No. 207, Gettysburg, CCF, RG 79. The report includes a study of soil conditions, farming operations, requirements for improvements, and proposed rearrangements for each of the farms in the park. Also see Louis E. King and William H. Allison, "Report: The Farms on the Gettysburg Battlefield," [ca. 1936-37], File No. 601, Gettysburg, CCF, RG 79; "Materials Pertaining to Farms and Farm Buildings, Gettysburg National Military Park," November 1938, and "Materials Pertaining to the Proposed Redistribution of Lands, Gettysburg National Military Park," November 1938, GNMP Library. The Althoff Farm was a separate farm in 1863, when it was owned by John T. Weikert. King was mistaken in saying that it was established after the war.

94. Louis E. King, "Farm Policy: Historical and Miscellaneous Notes Concerning the Proposal for the Elimination of the Weikert, Hummelbaugh and Bryan Farms," [ca. Spring, 1935], File No. 601, Gettysburg, CCF, RG 79, and McConaghie to Regional Director, Region One, January 14, 1938, Historical Files, MARO-CR.

farm lands and structures at Gettysburg. The document was submitted to the Washington Office and received official approval from NPS Director Arno B. Cammerer on December 5. In a memorandum to the director of Region I on January 4, 1939, Cammerer wrote that all "future programs for Gettysburg National Military Park, wherein the development of farm lands and farm structures is concerned, should adhere to the policy herein outlined."⁹⁵ The document, entitled "Development Policy for Gettysburg National Military Park (Farm Lands and Farm Structures)," stated:

It is agreed that the present conditions and maintenance of farm lands and structures that comprise portions of Gettysburg National Military Park are unsatisfactory from the standpoint of historical presentation and preservation, economy of operation as farm units, and in the absence of utilities for living accommodations and sanitary requirements considered essential for modern dwellings.

This condition has been brought about through the operation of these farms without due consideration to their historic and economic significance, the depletion of the soil with over cultivation, and in the erection of auxiliary farm structures without adequate planning previous to erection.

Accordingly, the development policy outlined eight objectives to "be adhered to in the future planning and development" of Gettysburg:

(1) That an atmosphere of farms and farm land in operation be preserved.

(2) In carrying out this policy we recognize degrees of historical importance of lands within the Park and wish particularly to emphasize retaining the historical features in the major sites within the Park (Pickett's Charge, Little Round Top, Culp's Hill, etc.) in as nearly their original condition as possible, whether farmed or not.

(3) It seems advisable to establish economic farm units by reducing the present 18 farms to a lesser number that can be economically operated. Further study will be necessary to determine the number and boundaries of any new farm arrangement.

(4) Preserve and retain all historical structures that are now located as they were at the time of the Battle and restore to original appearance wherever possible.

(5) Additional structures will be built where necessary on farms retained in cultivation, and existing non-historic structures shall be repaired, relocated, replaced, or destroyed to make more efficient farm groups.

95. Cammerer to Regional Director, Region One, January 4, 1939, Historical Files, MARO-CR.

(6) All structures that are of historical importance and that are not considered as necessary units in the establishment of economic farm units will be restored as rental units.

(7) All revamped farms shall be rehabilitated, dwellings modernized on the interior, and electricity, water, sewage disposal, etc., provided.

(8) In order to insure a reliable basis for the proper redistribution of the farm lands and orderly arrangements of farm structures, it is advisable to secure from the Department of Agriculture a farm economist on a consulting basis to assist the technicians of the National Park Service in carrying out this program.⁹⁶

Regulation of Licensed Battlefield Guide Service

After taking over jurisdiction of Gettysburg in 1933 the National Park grappled with the issue of the battlefield guide system and its relationship to the park interpretive and visitor services programs. The guide system which had been instituted by the War Department in 1915 was outside the direct control of the Park Service, and during 1933-36 the agency studied ways in which to provide for a system that would provide quality guide and interpretive services under Park Service auspices. After considerable research Superintendent McConaghie prepared a report in April 1936 analyzing the history of the system and proposing recommendations to correct "evils" in its existing operation.

McConaghie provided a description of the personnel employed as battlefield guides. He noted:

The present roster of guides numbers 89. Of this number 78% were given a license in 1915-16 and have served as guides continuously for twenty years. Many of these had been serving in a guide capacity prior to 1915. Of the remaining 25% about 20% were given a license in 1921-22, 30% in 1927 and 2% in 1929.

Of the total guide number about 50% depend upon guiding for a livelihood. About 30% depend upon the guide revenue to supplement other income and the remaining 20% have income outside of guiding to support themselves.

The picture, then, of the present personnel is that of an average 40-45 year age group. Educational qualifications figured but little in the examinations

96. "Development Policy for Gettysburg National Military Park (Farm Lands and Farm Structures)," November 14, 1938, Approved December 9, 1938, File No. 601, Gettysburg, CCF, RG 79.

it being rather obvious that the examination was centered around those local men who had been guiding before the regulated service was instituted. The majority of the present group have had only an average education. The story of the average guide hinges rather faithfully about the story outlined to them at the beginning of the regulated service. The aim of the larger portion may be said to be that of earning the possible income with a minimum amount of further study. There is a percentage though that rather faithfully continue to study.

The superintendent also provided details on how the guide system operated. He made observations on the subjects of public contact, regulation, and reports:

1. *Public Contact*: Public contact on the part of the guide is primarily through solicitation. Every guide may arrange trips by letter but this rather definitely applies to organized groups who make their plans in advance. At first the guides were not restricted as to zones. Finally definite areas were found to be the better ones to work in and were more or less officially designated as contact points. The present system operates by the guide whose turn it is to solicit standing at the road edge and hailing the passing cars. They must not signal so as to cause the car to come to a stop but rather may merely say battlefield guide so the motorist may hear them. The guides rotate so that an order of "striking" as they term it, is maintained.

2. *Regulation*: Regulations permit each guide three trips a day except Sundays and holidays when four are allowed.

Guide circulars are prepared by the superintendent at various times and mailed each guide. These are issued when special information is to be gotten to the guides, when criticisms are necessary or when disciplinary action has been taken.

Frequent inspections of the guides at their stations are made by the superintendent. Matters of clothing, approach and conduct are subject to the inspection.

3. *Reports*: Trip report forms are furnished all guides and these must be deposited in a box in the National Cemetery during the trip. These daily reports are required during the five months of the active season. During the remaining months each guide is required to submit a form report once a month on his activities. . . .

The park office periodically sent form letters to tourists to obtain information on the service provided to them and to solicit suggestions for improvements. Responses to these questionnaires were used to correct problems.

During 1935 battlefield guides conducted 9,669 long trips (minimum of \$3 per trip) and 6,368 short trips (minimum of \$2 per trip). Thus, a total of 16,037 paid guide trips were conducted, producing a total revenue of \$41,743. The guides advised their parties of the cost of the trip in advance and collected the money at the conclusion of the tour. The park office was not involved in handling the money.

Superintendent McConaghie discussed the nature and function of the Battlefield Guides Association. He discussed its purpose, membership, and administrative value:

Purpose: . . . The purpose of the organization was to have a regular assemblage where matters concerning the guide work could be discussed and to permit them a place in community affairs. At first the organization was associated with the American Federation of Labor but has since dropped this connection.

Membership: Membership is open to all licensed guides. There is a small annual fee for membership. Membership is optional to the guides but fully 90% are members.

Administrative value: The administration has recognized the Association in an advisory capacity. The guides by resolution from the Association are enabled to place before the administration their problems or suggestions. An official committee of the Association is on call by the superintendent when matters pertaining the guide service are to be discussed. . . .

The "evils" of the existing battlefield guide system, according to McConaghie, related to solicitation, points of contact, control, and public relations. These "evils" were described as follows:

Solicitation: The practice of personal solicitation is without doubt the most troublesome factor in the present system. When it is understood that the guides are in the business to make a livelihood and that the source of this livelihood is the approaching tourist the difficulty can be better appreciated. They must first induce the tourist to stop and then sell him the trip. The methods used to stop the visitor are hard to control. The average tourist comes to Gettysburg with but the faintest idea as to what may be seen here. Unless he is sold the idea of a trip he most certainly will wander into the field himself, see but little of it and leave in a confused state. . . .

Points of Contact: When it is known that there are twenty eight entrances to the Battlefield it can be better understood why there is a problem of proper contact. It has been found necessary to establish a number of contact points if the guide service is to reach the majority of visitors. For this reason there appears [sic] to be guides all over the area. No soliciting within the field is permitted. There are ten highways leading into Gettysburg and five minor roads. All of these approaches bring visitors to the Battlefield. These roads all

converge on a hub in the center of the town. This is naturally an excellent contact point and at the same time the most difficult to control.

Control: The regulations governing the guide service direct that where an extensive guide service is maintained the superintendent shall appoint a special supervisor of guides. Such a supervisor was appointed and acted until a few years ago. Upon his retirement for age the War Department discontinued the position. This attitude prevented the replacement while under the War Department. Since the transfer to the Department of the Interior limited appropriations etc., have prevented an appointment. The superintendent has had to exercise direct control.

In terms of the public relations issue McConaghie observed:

It rather goes without saying that the community itself has a definite interest in the guides and in the guide service. A small tax per guide for a permit to operate within the town limits yields a small direct revenue. Most important to the community is the support of the guides in handling the many conventions that meet at Gettysburg. . . .

Accordingly, McConaghie proposed the general outlines and details for a new guide system, realizing that some interim compromises would have to be instituted prior to full implementation of his "ideal" recommendations. The general outlines of the new system that he proposed were:

that a guide service be instituted at Gettysburg, wherein the individual guide be a regular employee of the park and paid a salary as are other employees; that a force of not to exceed fifty such employed guides can meet the guide service need; that the fees be placed just high enough to assure an income sufficient to meet the costs of the service; and, that fees based to a degree on the present rate will produce a sufficient revenue to meet the estimated costs and leave a small margin of profit.⁹⁷

Discussion of McConaghie's proposals continued into the early 1940s. The battlefield guides made a determined stand against the superintendent's proposals, enlisting the aid of local, state, and federal political leaders on their behalf. In August 1941, for instance, the guides strenuously objected to Park Service efforts to commence guide training trips of the

97. James R. McConaghie, "Report On A Guide Service At Gettysburg National Military Park," April 4, 1936, pp. 6-17, File No. 207, Gettysburg, CCF, RG 79.

park. By September 1941 the National Park Service came to the conclusion that it was not "feasible to change the system at least for several years."⁹⁸

Nevertheless, the National Park Service continued to take steps to improve the quality of the guide service system at Gettysburg. In March 1942 Assistant Historian Tilberg prepared a "guide manual" that was distributed to all licensed guides. The manual contained sections on qualifications and objectives of the guide service, guide regulations, and a revised "form of agreement to operate as a guide." Relative to the qualifications and objectives of the guide service, the manual stated:

Private guide service, with a total roster of 82 guides, is maintained under the supervision of the National Park Service. Guides operating in Gettysburg National Military Park have passed an examination on the Campaign and Battle of Gettysburg and are licensed by the National Park Service. Guides are urged to become familiar with other National Park areas, especially Military Parks, as well as the literature on Gettysburg and other Military Parks. At the beginning of each guided tour, a statement should be made of the aims, extent, and activities of the National Park Service, as well as the official and headquarters of the local Park administration.

Such pertinent information as the length of time necessary for a complete tour or a special tour of the Battlefield, as well as the fee charged for guide service on either tour, must be given to the visitor at the start of the tour. It is strongly urged that field stops for battle discussion be made at McPherson Ridge or Oak Hill, Spangler's Spring, East Cemetery Hill or Cemetery Hill, The Angle, and Little Round Top. It is also urged that guided parties be informed of the relief map in the Park Museum, Post Office Building, where an orientation lecture will be given by a member of the Park historical staff. Such a lecture may be of real interest and value to the visitor and the visit to the museum may be made before, during, or after the tour of the Battlefield. . . .

It is the purpose of the guide service at Gettysburg National Military Park to assist the visitors in visualizing the positions and movements of troops by describing the action, and by pointing out landmarks, features of the terrain, monuments, as well as markers and tablets. The story presented should enable the visitor to appreciate fully and quickly the magnitude of the struggle and the main trends of the conflict in its logical development. Guides must be thoroughly familiar with the Campaign as well as the chain of events connected with the Battle itself. It is their duty to know in detail the facts regarding the Battle, the strategical features thereof, and the location of monuments and markers in order to escort visitors to such places when

98. Coleman to Director, National Park Service, August 15 and September 4, 1941, Files Nos. 201 and 208, respectively, Gettysburg, CCF, RG 79. Superintendent McConaghie attributed his reassignment to Vicksburg National Military Park in 1941 to his difficulties with the guides.

desired. The story of the guide shall be limited to historical fact, and shall be free from praise or censure.

The manual gave special emphasis to the park regulations for parking and solicitation. It stated:

Parking: With the improvement of sod bordering the avenues, it is necessary that the regulation concerning the parking of cars on paved surfaces be strictly enforced. It is suggested that guides, in charge of a party, acquaint the driver with said regulation, as well as proper parking in places provided for that purpose.

Solicitation: Guides will be free to continue solicitation on the highways and, insofar as Park authority is concerned, in the borough of Gettysburg. Guides must not misrepresent their position, however, by misleading means of stopping tourists.

Included in the manual was a "Term of Agreement to Operate as a Guide." Violation of any clause in the agreement was punishable by a mandatory suspension of a minimum of three days. The form, which was addressed to the park superintendent, contained the Park Service regulations that the guides agreed to comply with upon receiving a license.⁹⁹

Subsequent to the issuance of the manual, the Park Service took active steps to train the guides and supervise the guide program. In May cards were issued to the guides which they were to hand to visitors at the beginning of tours.¹⁰⁰ That month Superintendent Coleman informed NPS Director Newton B. Drury on the guide examination given on April 10 and the status of guide training and supervision efforts at the park:

. . . the instruction course was well attended and favorably received as was evidenced in remarks by guides to members of the Park staff during the course of instruction and at its close. The lectures were designed to give the guides broader and practical information desired by the present day visitor as well as a general knowledge of equipment and methods of warfare of the Civil War period. On the basis of the examination marks, it is felt that the instruction given by the Park staff was of real benefit to the guides and that they broadened their knowledge and understanding of the Battle of Gettysburg as well as of the Civil War.

99. Frederick Tilberg, "Guide Manual, Gettysburg National Military Park, Pennsylvania," March 1942, pp. 2-6, File No. 840, Gettysburg, CCF, RG 79. The manual also included a historical statement on the National Park Service, summary statements on the Civil War and the campaign and Battle of Gettysburg, and a bibliography of works pertaining to the Civil War, Battle of Gettysburg, and Lincoln at Gettysburg.

100. Coleman to Director, National Park Service, April 28, 1942, and Tolson to Superintendent, Gettysburg National Military Park, May 7, 1942, File No. 201, Gettysburg, CCF, RG 79.

The passing mark in the examination was 70. Although a considerable number of guides did not make a passing mark, this was somewhat expected as many of them had little or no acquaintance with the Civil War as a whole prior to the course of instruction. A weakness of many guides, also, was the lack of familiarity with artillery and infantry guns and ammunition, field hospitals at Gettysburg, and army communication systems. The examination returns indicated far better knowledge of the Battle of Gettysburg than with other phases of the War.

Of the 65 guides who have taken the examination at this time, nine received marks from 90-94; 24 received marks from 80-90; 18 received marks from 70-80; 7 received marks from 60-70; 6 received marks from 50-60; and one received a mark of 36. . . .

At our request, those who failed in the examination have reported to this office for a review of their examination papers. Arrangements have been made by Dr. Tilberg to accompany each guide over the Battlefield for observation of the guide story and special attention will be directed to those who failed in the written examination.¹⁰¹

Park Response to Intrusions on Historic Values

During the late 1930s Park Service management began to take steps to remove "privately operated nuisances in and adjacent to Gettysburg Battlefield." The "objectionable nuisances" included garbage and trash dumps, automobile wrecking yards, and sewage pollution in Rock Creek. One of the dumps was in the northwest section of the battlefield near the intersection of West Confederate Avenue and Hagerstown Road, while a second smaller dump was located on Wainwright Avenue at the eastern base of Cemetery Hill. Two automobile wrecking yards were near roads leading to Gettysburg from the southeast – one on Baltimore Road and one on Taneytown Road. Operation of the city sewage disposal plant resulted in noticeable pollution of Rock Creek during low water periods. Since the dumps and wrecking yards were on privately owned property outside the Gettysburg city limits, Superintendent McConaghie explored what legal steps could be taken to remove these eyesores. Park Service legal staffers indicated that court injunctions might be secured, but that negotiations with the property owners were preferable where possible. While city officials agreed to take steps to eliminate pollution in Rock Creek efforts to negotiate with owners of the dumps and wrecking yards proved futile.

101. Coleman to Director, National Park Service, May 13, 1942, File No. 201, Gettysburg, CCF, RG 79.

Thus, Superintendent McConaghie took further steps during the spring of 1937 to eliminate the dumps and wrecking yards. C. D. Monteith was detailed from the Washington Office to help him investigate the problem. After interviewing local political leaders, health officials, and residents it was determined to take action through the commonwealth health and highway departments and the Gettysburg city council.¹⁰²

As a result of these efforts the Pennsylvania State Health Department closed the two garbage dumps in 1938. The Park Service was less successful, however, in its efforts to remove the automobile wrecking yards. On November 25, 1940, Assistant Historian Tilberg described the problem in a memorandum to the Regional Director, Region One.

In line with previous reports pertaining to developments on private property adjoining Government-owned land in the Gettysburg National Military Park, it is desired to call attention to the automobile junk yard located on Baltimore Pike approximately one mile southeast of the Gettysburg borough limits. This automobile wrecking development, covering four acres of land, was begun by Mr. Hobson Crouse in 1934, and has been operated by a brother, C. W. Crouse, since 1938. At the present time, a warehouse for the storage of salvaged automobile parts is being erected near the center of the wrecking yard. It has been learned that the Crouse brothers are negotiating for additional land adjoining the wrecking yard on the south in order to allow expansion of their activities.

Moreover, Tilberg went on to explain that when the two dumps had been closed the Borough of Gettysburg entered into an agreement with Paul Plank for disposal of borough garbage. He noted:

This garbage dump is located on McAllister Hill, which adjoins the Crouse wrecking yard on the south. From the top of McAllister Hill, there is a steep incline southeastward to Rock Creek. It is Mr. Plank's intention to continue the dumping of garbage on the crest of the hill for the purpose of leveling a considerable area, then to begin dumping on the steep side of the hill to Rock Creek, an incline of 100 feet at this point. Plank plans to make this the borough garbage dump for several years. . . .

The ground on which the Crouse automobile development and the Plank garbage dump is located should be protected because of the historical values associated with this area. . . .

102. C. D. Monteith, "Report on Garbage Dumps, Automobile Wrecking Yards, City Sewage Disposal Plant Adjacent to Gettysburg National Military Park," May 12, 1937, File No. 611, Gettysburg, CCF, RG 79. The six-year park development plan, adopted in 1934, proposed acquisition of the two tracts on which the garbage dumps were located as well as the tract along Baltimore Road on which the wrecking yard was situated. For more data on the problem of sewage pollution in Rock Creek see S. I. Zack, "Historic Gettysburg, Pa. Improves Sewage Treatment," *The American City*, LXVII (August, 1952), 88-89.

It is to be pointed out that the Master Plan for this Park provides for an avenue extending from the present Colgrove Avenue in McAllister Woods southward over McAllister Hill to Baltimore Pike. This avenue would approach Baltimore Pike along an old public road at a point directly opposite the entrance to Granite School House Road, a government-owned road. Through this avenue connection, it is hoped to link eventually the Spangler's Spring area with Little Round Top.¹⁰³

Several new developments on private property near the park became issues of concern to management in 1940. In July Roy E. Appleman, Regional Supervisor of Historic Sites, reported that excavations were underway at the southwest corner of the intersection of Buford Avenue and Mummasburg Road for the Peace Light Inn, consisting of a dance hall pavilion, swimming pool, and refreshment stand. The site was approximately 500 feet southwest of the Peace Memorial, and the development "would intrude itself in the vista from the Peace Memorial extending westward and southwestward over the beautiful rural Pennsylvania countryside to the South Mountain Range several miles distant." Not only was Appleman disturbed by the proposed development near the Peace Memorial, but he also observed that an "extremely bad situation exists and is getting worse along the Emmitsburg Road where it passes through the battlefield." He noted:

Commercial developments and houses are rapidly being built in this section and already constitute serious intrusions in the very heart of the battleground between Cemetery Ridge and Seminary Ridge. There is every indication that this development will progressively become more pronounced and objectionable. A land acquisition program is badly needed at Gettysburg to forestall further development of this character along the Emmitsburg Road. In my opinion this situation indicates priority over any other land acquisition program affecting any of the national military parks under the administration of the National Park Service. I make this statement because I consider the Gettysburg Park as probably the most important area falling within this category.¹⁰⁴

Upon receipt of Appleman's memorandum, Acting Regional Director Fred T. Johnston directed Superintendent McConaghie to take immediate action to stop the development near the Peace Memorial. He stated in a memorandum on July 15:

Please investigate thoroughly the possibilities of delaying or stopping altogether the proposed development by Mr. Harvey Warner at the intersection of Buford Avenue and the Mummasburg Road. This development of dance pavilion, swimming pool, souvenir and refreshment stand, and a cabin group

103. Tilberg to Regional Director, Region One, November 25, 1940, File No. 207, Gettysburg, CCF, RG 79.

104. Appleman to Acting Regional Director, July 13, 1940, File No. 207, Gettysburg, CCF, RG 79.

threatens to impair seriously a section of the battlefield that up to the present has been unspoiled. It is especially desirable that the park in the vicinity of the Peace Memorial be kept free of developments of this kind. It is realized that serious difficulties interpose when, as in this case, the development is on private property. Nevertheless, it is to the interest of the National Park Service and to Gettysburg National Military Park, in particular, to investigate all such threatened developments and to make every effort to have them postponed or abandoned. . . .¹⁰⁵

The following month Tilberg prepared a study in support of land acquisition to forestall further residential development in the area of the historic Rose and Snyder farms along Emmitsburg Road. On August 29 he noted:

During an inspection trip on August 26, it was observed along the Emmitsburg Road about 200 yards north of the intersection of the Emmitsburg Road and West Confederate Avenue that an excavation had just been started, apparently for a residence, and that well drillers had begun work. This building site is between two other residences bordering this highway and is another addition to the line of residence buildings extending northward from the United States Government boundary line which extends eastward from the intersection of the Emmitsburg Road and West Confederate Avenue to the slope of Big Round Top. Most of the residences built along the east side of the highway at this point were constructed more than five years ago on lots subdivided from a small farm, the owner of which at the time of the Battle of Gettysburg is indicated on the Warren Survey Map of the Battlefield made in 1868-69, as P. Snyder. One of these building developments on the Rose farm just north of the Snyder tract is a poultry farm, one structure being approximately 200 feet in length and another structure 75 feet long. Two of the residences along the highway were built in 1939. In view of construction work in 1939 and the present indication of a new residence, it appears that residences of this type will continue to be built northward from the present houses, thereby employing for residential and tourist home purposes ground which is exceedingly important historically, and also cutting off from the traveler on Emmitsburg Road the view of the Round Tops and Devil's Den area from that highway and from West Confederate Avenue.¹⁰⁶

In September the park reacted to proposals by area residents to have the Gettysburg borough line extended to include property along the Steinwehr Avenue extension. On September 6 Assistant Historian Tilberg prepared a report on the park's position to the proposed extension:

105. Johnston to Superintendent, Gettysburg National Military Park, July 15, 1940, File No. 207, Gettysburg, CCF, RG 79.

106. Frederick Tilberg, "Report on Developments on Private Property Adjoining Emmitsburg Road in the Area of Rose and Snyder Farms," August 30, 1940, File No. 207, Gettysburg, CCF, RG 79.

A report reached this office recently that residents of Steinwehr Avenue extension, which is that section of the Emmitsburg Road extending from the intersection of the Emmitsburg Road and Taneytown Road southwestward to the present boundary line of Government lands on the east and west sides of said road, are circulating a petition for the purpose of applying to the borough of Gettysburg for inclusion of those areas within the city limits. Although the west side of this section of the Emmitsburg Road as far south as the Government boundary line has been developed for residential purpose, it is felt that attention should be called to any action by the residents of this area which may render it more difficult, if not impossible, for the Park to protect historic values in that area. . . .

Upon investigation of the report concerning the proposed extension of the Gettysburg borough line, it was learned that it is the purpose to extend the line to include the triangle bounded on the west by the Emmitsburg Road, on the east by the Taneytown Road, and on the south by the Park boundary, a small part of which triangle at the intersection of the Emmitsburg and Taneytown Roads is within the present borough limits. This proposed area would include the Rosensteel Museum, advertised as the National Museum, opposite the west gate of the National Cemetery. On the west side of the Emmitsburg Road it is proposed to include a parcel of land 200 feet in width, parallel to that highway, extending from the present borough line southward to the Park boundary. This 200-foot strip of land, bordering on the Emmitsburg Road, is designed to include only the existing line of residences located along that road. By inclusion within the borough limits, the residents would obtain the borough facilities of a sewage system, borough lighting, and lower property insurance rates, in addition to other facilities already extended.

Although the present line of residences along the Emmitsburg Road opposite Ziegler's Grove is an intrusion in a very important part of battle ground, and is an area which should eventually be cleared of such residences, the extension of the borough line to include these residences is not the point of immediate concern. The real concern is that if the borough line and borough facilities are extended to include this line of houses the next step would be the purchase of subdivisions from the William H. Johns farm to the west of these residences, and the development of an area of town lots, the owners of which would soon apply for a further extension of the borough limits. Thus, a residence section with borough facilities would be established on battle ground which is equally as important, from the view point of the preservation of historical values, as the area known as the field of Pickett's Charge lying immediately south of this tract.

It is felt, therefore, from the view point of the preservation of historical values in this area and of forestalling the expansion of a borough residential section on this ground, that the Johns farm adjoining the line of residences on Emmitsburg Road on the east, Park lands on the south and the borough line on the north, should be acquired in the near future. For the same reason, the

McMillan farm lying between the Johns farm and West Confederate Avenue should be acquired.¹⁰⁷

Residential development along Emmitsburg Road in the vicinity of the Sherfy and Spangler farms drew park attention in October 1940. Tilberg again prepared a study to justify land acquisition to prevent such development on private property adjacent to park land. On October 23, he noted:

The construction of the residence on Emmitsburg Road on ground purchased from the Sherfy farm is indicative of a trend of residence construction, more pronounced in recent months, along the main highways leading into Gettysburg. A second building lot, still vacant, fronting on Emmitsburg Road, has been purchased from the Sherfy farm.

If there is a possibility of acquiring private property for the Park at this time, it is strongly urged that the Spangler farm of 156 acres and the Sherfy farm of 70 acres, as well as the Swope tourist cabin development, covering 22 acres, be acquired primarily as a protective measure against the encroachment of private developments upon an historic area.¹⁰⁸

Despite the efforts of the Park Service to preserve the historical values of these areas adjacent to the battlefield, none of the tracts recommended for acquisition were purchased during the 1930s and 1940s.

Efforts of Gettysburg Historians' Association and Pennsylvania Department of the Loyal Legion to Aid Battlefield Preservation

The efforts of the National Park Service to prevent development on private property adjacent to the park from intruding on the historic scene were abetted by the Gettysburg Historians' Association established on November 16, 1938. The organization, with headquarters in South Orange, New Jersey, had a three-man executive committee: George Gordon Meade (a grandson of Major General George G. Meade) of Ambler, Pennsylvania; Winfield Newton Burdick of South Orange, New Jersey; and Paul Freeman of Philadelphia. The stated purpose, plan, and objective of the organization was set forth in an article in the *Gettysburg Times* on April 29, 1939:

107. Memorandum for the Regional Director, Frederick Tilberg, September 6, 1940, Vertical Files, Report on Proposed Extension of G-burg Borro Line southward along Emmitsburg Rd. & A Historical Statement, GNMP Library. The Johns Farm was ultimately subdivided as the residential development known as Colt Park.

108. Frederick Tilberg, "Report on the Spangler and Sherfy Farms with Reference to Residential Developments on and Adjoining These Tracts," October 23, 1940, File No. 207, Gettysburg, CCE, RG 79.

. . . to preserve the battlefield of Gettysburg as a national shrine, to which past generations have gone and in which future generations will go, to honor those who fought there.

The Gettysburg National Park now includes only the immediate ground where were the more important lines and positions of the two embattled armies. Splendid and valuable work has been done by the federal and state governments, and by the local authorities, and this work is still going on, so that the park now is perhaps as beautiful and impressive as any national shrine in the whole country.

It is thus doubly unfortunate that on land outside but bordering on the park, land on which the actual battle raged with bitter fury, land that was taken, lost and retaken, land over which Pickett's brave men charged, there are now unsightly and incongruous objects – automobile dumps, miserable shacks, tourist camps and hot dog stands.

The plan of the association is to gather life members from over the whole nation, and thus to awaken as many people as possible to this situation, to knowledge of the battle itself. . . .¹⁰⁹

As it became increasingly evident that the Park Service could do little to stem development on private property near the park, Superintendent McConaghie appealed to the association for aid. Accordingly, the organization agreed to sponsor a meeting of NPS officials and interested citizens on the problem of protecting the park "against intrusions" affecting "historic values" in December 1940.¹¹⁰

When the association decided to withdraw their sponsorship of the meeting, Park Service officials appealed to other preservation oriented groups in the effort to protect the battlefield. In early 1941 the Pennsylvania Department of the Loyal Legion in Philadelphia had formed a committee for the preservation of the Gettysburg battlefield with George G. Meade as chairman. On February 19, 1941, for instance, Superintendent Coleman met with leaders of that organization to discuss "the encroachment of private residences, tourist cabins and other commercial developments on ground which is essentially a part of the Battlefield." Despite assurances of mutual support to stem such developments, however, the coming of

109. *Gettysburg Times*, April 29, 1939, Historical Files, MARO-CR. Also see Rudd to Gettysburg National Park Commission, January 21, 1939, and McConaghie to Rudd, January 26, 1939, File No. 871, Gettysburg, CCF, RG 79.

110. McConaghie to Director, National Park Service, October 20, 1940, File No. 871, Gettysburg, CCF, RG 79.

World War II appears to have forestalled formal legal efforts to prevent such encroachments.¹¹¹

Park Superintendent's Residence

The issue of providing a residence for the park superintendent at Gettysburg was discussed by NPS management throughout the 1930s. In August 1933, after taking over the park, the National Park Service included a residence in its PWA program. Questions relative to location and the need for the funds on other PWA construction work at Gettysburg, however, caused a transfer of the available money. While a second PWA program for a superintendent's residence was approved, the initiation of WPA programs in the park led to changes in plans for such a structure. A superintendent's residence was included in the park master plan in 1937, but again funds for construction were not forthcoming.

In December 1939 a study assessing alternatives for a park superintendent's house was conducted by McConaghie. In a memorandum to Director Cammerer he observed on December 20:

Gettysburg is a town of about 5000 inhabitants. The population number has remained rather constant for many years. . . . The majority of the desirable homes are in reality homes and owned as such. They are seldom for rent and when any do become vacant they are for sale rather than for rent. Where sale is the objective rental opportunity is at best but temporary. . . .

Fourteen houses exist within the park and are owned by the Government. Twelve of these are serving residential purposes. Eight of these serve as farm tenant homes, four may be classed as residences only, and one is now being modernized for a residence. Previous investigation has determined that of these houses only two are of a size to be considered as a possible residence for the Superintendent.

The two farm houses, Culp and Codori, are both of a size as to lend themselves to the desired residential use.

After indicating that these two houses were unacceptable for conversion to a superintendent's residence, McConaghie reviewed other alternatives, such as reconstruction of "the McPherson house on the First Days field" and the "Weikert house on the Second days field" and conversion of the existing post-Civil War Wentz house. Since "none of the houses could be

111. Coleman to Regional Director, Region One, March 14, 1941, and Tilberg to Regional Director, March 4, 1941, File No. 207, Gettysburg, CCF, RG 79.

considered as being strategically located for an administrator's residence," McConaghie supported the location of the proposed residence along West Confederate Avenue adjacent to Fairfield Road.¹¹²

Despite the recommendation by McConaghie NPS Director Cammerer continued to ask for consideration of conversion "of some other Service owned farm house on the battlefield than the Culp farm house for the residence purpose." In response McConaghie stated on January 24, 1940:

If historical values are to be retained, all park farm houses would have to be continued in their present size or made smaller. I believe there can be but an agreement on this point. In so agreeing, the following farm houses are at once eliminated from consideration for conversion to a Superintendent's Residence: The four small-room *Slyder house*, the four small-room *Hummelbaugh house*, the four room *Biggs house*, the three room *Bryan house*, the three room *Meade's Headquarters*, the four room *Weikert house*. Of the remaining eight houses, three are of post-war construction and listed for abandonment. These are: Mason [Masonheimer] Althoff and Wentz. This leaves five houses for consideration. Namely: Culp, Codori, Trostle, Bushman, and Klinge.

The superintendent then assessed the adaptability of the Culp, Codori, Trostle, Bushman, and Klinge houses, concluding "that none of the existing farm houses are adaptable to use as a Superintendent's Residence."

McConaghie also provided the director with an assessment of the possible use of the cemetery superintendent's lodge as the park superintendent's residence. In this regard he observed:

The Cemetery Residence contains seven rooms and an office. The building is very badly cut up. It is, however, of brick construction and rather well built. The house would lend itself to alteration and modernization.

The unsatisfactory element in a consideration would be its relationship to the Cemetery. The house is directly related to a very busy section of the Park. Privacy would at best be at a minimum. . . .

Superintendent McConaghie concluded his lengthy memorandum to the director by urging construction of a new park superintendent's residence. He noted:

We further submit that in our opinion the answer lies in the construction of a new residence on or near the site as indicated on the Master Plan. This site is

112. McConaghie to Director, National Park Service, December 20, 1939, File No. 620, Gettysburg, CCF, RG 79.

on West Confederate Avenue adjacent to the Fairfield Road. The existence of private residences and a recently constructed Armory would permit the erection of a new structure without adding to the confusion of the field. The site was originally selected because of the fact that private buildings now exist on the opposite or east side of Confederate Avenue and that there is little reason to assume that these private holdings would ever be purchased for addition to the Battlefield. The structure would be largely screened from public view by a wooded area which is one of the historic features of this particular area. . . . The site itself is well located as concerns the entire Battlefield. It is within easy access of Gettysburg. It is easily reached by all utilities.¹¹³

Despite the repeated recommendations of McConaghie, the Washington Office determined that the Codori House would be altered for the park superintendent's residence. Plans were approved for the work in fiscal year 1941, and the house was ready for occupancy as the result of a CCC labor project on April 1, 1942.¹¹⁴

Vista Cutting

During the late 1930s Gettysburg park administrators became interested in a vista cutting project in the Little Round Top area. The purpose of the project was to aid visitors in identifying important features of the battlefield from Little Round Top. In December 1939 Assistant Historian Tilberg prepared a report, documented with photographs, maps, and other Civil War records, in support of the project. He recommended that four vistas be cut, three of which were intended to open historic views from Little Round Top to Devil's Den, to the Wheatfield, and toward the Trostle farm buildings and beyond to the field of Pickett's Charge. A fourth vista was to open a view from Sedgwick Avenue to the swale at the western base of Little Round Top. These vistas would provide visitors with unobstructed views between important points on the battlefield. Tilberg compiled the report after conferring with a number of Washington, regional, and park officials, including Ronald F. Lee, Supervisor of Historic Sites, Charles W. Porter, Associate Research Technician, and Roy E. Appleman, Regional Supervisor of Historic Sites.¹¹⁵

113. McConaghie to Director, January 24, 1940, File No. 620, Gettysburg, CCF, RG 79.

114. Gettysburg National Military Park, "Annual Report for Gettysburg National Military Park and Cemetery, Fiscal Year Ending June 30, 1941," p. 2, and Gettysburg National Military Park, "Annual Report for Gettysburg National Military Park and Cemetery, Fiscal Year Ending June 30, 1942," File No. 207-01, Gettysburg, CCF, RG 79.

115. Frederick Tilberg, "Vista Cutting Project: Area of Little Round Top, Devil's Den, the Wheatfield, and Peach Orchard," December 28, 1939, File No. 207, Gettysburg, CCF, RG 79, and Appleman to Regional Director, January 29, 1940, and Tilberg to Regional Director, December 29, 1939, Vertical Files, Vista-Cutting Project for LRT (1939), GNMP Library.

The vista cutting project began in September 1940 using CCC labor under the direction of Assistant Historian Tilberg. Tree cutting and brush clearing of non-historic vegetation was commenced in the Devil's Den area on September 25, and tree cutting to permit a clear view from Little Round Top to portions of the Wheatfield bordering Wheatfield Road, and to Winslow's New York Battery and other monuments in the center of the Wheatfield were begun in October. Extensive clearings on the slopes of Little Round Top, the upper part of Plum Run Valley, and its tributary northward from Little Round Top were accomplished during the winter of 1940-41.¹¹⁶

Acquisition of Cyclorama By National Park Service

After lengthy negotiations the National Park Service acquired the Gettysburg Cyclorama in July 1941. The cyclorama painting, a work illustrating the climax of Pickett's Charge which had been completed by Paul Philippoteaux in Boston in 1884, had been exhibited in Boston, Newark, New Jersey, New York City, Baltimore, and Washington, D.C., before being housed in a building on Baltimore Street in Gettysburg in 1913. In 1936 the Advisory Board on National Parks, Historic Sites, Buildings, and Monuments declared the cyclorama to be of national significance, and recommended that it be secured by the National Park Service. Thereafter, negotiations were begun with Jeremiah F. Hoover, owner of the cyclorama painting, and the Gettysburg Water Company, owner of the 175-foot square piece of property on which the cyclorama building was located.¹¹⁷

While the negotiations were underway the Gettysburg staff developed plans for the operation of the cyclorama once it was acquired. In a memorandum for Director Cammerer on March 19, 1940, Superintendent McConaghie stated that present plans for operation of the cyclorama were:

1. To operate on present site for at least one Park season. Minor repairs and improvements only to be done. The personnel to operate to be provided from our regular staff and through temporary employment as usually made through the Park season. . . .

116. Tilberg to Regional Director, Region One, October 3, November 4, and December 3, 1940, File No. 207, Gettysburg, CCF, RG 79.

117. For a background history of the cyclorama painting see "The National Park Service Gettysburg Cyclorama: Copy of First Draft Manuscript by Alfred Mongin, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, June 1968," Vertical Files, Draft of Cyclorama Study-A. Mongin, GNMP Library. For data on the lengthy negotiations process see McConaghie to Director, National Park Service, March 19, 1940, WASO Park Archives, and File No. 833, Gettysburg, CCF, RG 79.

2. At the end of the Park season to initiate moving the present structure to a location within the Park where better accommodations can be made to handle the visitors and where better access for the visitor can be provided. This to be considered a temporary site pending the final construction of an interpretive center. . . .
3. Final location to be in a proposed interpretative center. This center to be a permanent building which will provide the necessary educational facilities, library, technicians offices, laboratory, and auditorium. Part of the building to house the properly displayed Cyclorama. This building will be erected adjacent to the temporary site selected for the Cyclorama.¹¹⁸

The National Park Service acquired the rights to operate the cyclorama by means of a cooperative agreement signed on July 22, 1941, by the Department of the Interior, Jeremiah F. Hoover, and the Gettysburg Water Company. Earlier on May 7 President Roosevelt had approved the transaction. According to the terms of the document Hoover agreed to convey the cyclorama and the building in which it was housed to the United States "upon the request of the Secretary [of the Interior]." The consideration for the transfer was the agreement on the part of the Secretary "to exhibit the Cyclorama to the public and collect fees for such exhibition and to make remittances to the Owner," his executors, administrators, heirs, and assigns "of their respective shares of the funds collected for them."

For its part the Gettysburg Water Company agreed to the transfer of the lease for the property to the Secretary of the Interior and to "accept, in lieu of the stipulated rent, remittances in equivalent amounts, to be collected by the Secretary as fees for exhibiting the Cyclorama to the public." When the "remittances to the Company" constituted "an amount equal to the total rents payable under the existing lease; i.e., the sum of \$2,225, which is the balance remaining on June 1, 1941," the Secretary would have the right "to occupy the land for an additional period of 10 years from June 1, 1947, without obligation to make further remittances." The agreement also provided that the water company intended to donate the cyclorama property to the United States in the future, providing "the release from under the existing mortgage could be accomplished without undue cost."

The agreement provided that the Secretary of the Interior, or his duly authorized representative, was responsible for the display, preservation, and publicity of the cyclorama. Article III of the document stated the responsibilities of the secretary:

118. McConaghie to Director, National Park Service, March 19, 1940, WASO Park Archives.

To designate the Cyclorama at Gettysburg as a national historic object to be permanently preserved for the benefit and inspiration of the people of the United States.

That out of the fees collected by the Secretary, the sum of \$3,000 shall be remitted annually to the Owner during his life, and thereafter to his wife during her life, if she survives him. . . .

That out of the fees collected by the Secretary, there shall be remitted to Charles H. Cobean, presently employed by the Owner in the care and management of the Cyclorama, the sum of \$600 per annum so long as, in the opinion of the Secretary, the said Charles H. Cobean is physically and mentally able to perform duties in connection with the maintenance and operation of the Cyclorama. . . .

That the Secretary will protect, preserve, maintain, and operate the Cyclorama to the best advantage of the United States, utilizing for that purpose, insofar as it may in his discretion be deemed necessary, any funds which may be made available for such purposes by appropriation or otherwise. . . .¹¹⁹

A deed of transfer was executed by Jeremiah F. Hoover on August 5, 1941. After it was found that certain additional legal requirements had to be met before the property could be accepted by the federal government, the agreement was modified by a supplement dated February 21, 1942.¹²⁰

Publications

In 1940 the National Park Service published a sixteen-page booklet on Gettysburg National Military Park using CCC funds. The text for the well-illustrated publication was written by Assistant Historian Tilberg and was intended for the average park visitor. The

119. Memorandum of Agreement of July 22, 1941, Among the Department of the Interior, Jeremiah F. Hoover of Newark, New Jersey, and the Gettysburg Water Company Relating to the Preservation of the Cyclorama of Gettysburg, Pennsylvania, WASO Park Archives. The water company never donated the cyclorama property, and the local municipal authority still holds this portion of the battlefield, part of which is now occupied by a large water tower.

120. Moskey to Hoover, January 13, February 25, 1942, and Moskey to Latta, February 5, 17, 25, 1942; WASO Park Archives.

narrative included a brief history of the park and cemetery followed by a discussion of the campaign and Battle of Gettysburg. The booklet contained a map of the park.¹²¹

OPERATION OF GETTYSBURG NATIONAL CEMETERY: 1934-1941

The National Park Service faced a variety of problems and challenges as it sought to administer Gettysburg National Cemetery during the pre-World War II period. This section will provide a brief study of those issues and the policies developed by park management in response to them.

Administration

Gettysburg National Cemetery was administered by Superintendent Clarence L. Nett from July 12, 1934, to April 6, 1942. Prior to his work at Gettysburg, Nett served as superintendent of Antietam National Cemetery from March 9, 1932, when that unit was still under the War Department, to July 11, 1934. His transfer was ordered by Secretary of the Interior Harold L. Ickes to fill the vacancy resulting from the retirement of J. F. McCall who had served as the cemetery's first superintendent under the National Park Service.¹²²

The salary of Nett was \$1,320 per annum, of which \$10 per month was deducted for his use of the superintendent's lodge. Because of his straightened finances resulting in part from having a family of four unmarried children and one married son, his salary was "reallocated" to \$1,860 per annum in December 1935. Beginning on May 1, 1936, his quarters deduction was raised to \$20 per month, the full appraised value for such accommodations.¹²³

121. Evison to Superintendent, Gettysburg National Military Park, May 17, 1939, Tilberg Files, GNMP Battle History for Brief Publication, GNMP Library, and U S. Department of the Interior, National Park Service, *Gettysburg National Military Park, Pennsylvania* (Washington, 1940).

122. Gettysburg National Cemetery, "Annual Report for the Gettysburg National Cemetery, Year Ending July 31, 1935," p. 3, File No. 207-01, Gettysburg, CCF, RG 79, and *Centennial Edition, National Park Service Officials, March 1, 1972*, pp. 36, 66.

123. McConaghie to Director, National Park Service, April 29, 1936, File No. 31, Gettysburg, CCF, RG 79.

Protection Services

Protection services for the cemetery were in the hands of the superintendent, who was assisted by the national park motorcycle guards. On special occasions when additional protection was needed, park laborers were assigned to duty in the cemetery. Speeding and parking violations appear to have been the primary law enforcement problems in the cemetery during the 1930s.¹²⁴

Maintenance, Repairs, and Alterations

Low appropriations during the depression kept the cemetery maintenance force to a bare minimum. During fiscal year 1935, for instance, it was reported that the regular force consisted of the superintendent and one laborer. Small details of CCC enrollees augmented the maintenance force. Cemetery appropriations were so meager during fiscal year 1936 that on April 28 Superintendent Nett was forced to furlough the laborer and ultimately transfer him as a guard to Washington, D.C. To aid the cemetery's finances park funds totaling \$545 were transferred to the cemetery in July 1935 for purchase of a power mower. In May 1936 the park transferred \$175 to the cemetery to cover the superintendent's annual salary through the end of the fiscal year. During fiscal year 1937 cemetery appropriations were "barely enough to purchase small equipment such as hand-mowers, grass shears, rakes, and forks which were very badly needed." Funding throughout the remainder of the 1930s was insufficient to provide for a maintenance person on the cemetery staff.¹²⁵

The work of maintaining the cemetery during the mid-1930s was summarized by Superintendent Nett in July 31, 1935. Routine maintenance activities included cleaning of gutters and drains along the roads, seeding, sodding, fertilizing, and mowing the lawns, cleaning the headstones, policing the grounds, and excavating and refilling graves for interments.¹²⁶

124. Gettysburg National Cemetery, "Annual Report for the Gettysburg National Cemetery, Year Ending July 31, 1935," p. 3.

125. *Ibid.* pp. 3-4; and Gettysburg National Cemetery, "Annual Report for the Gettysburg National Cemetery, Year Ending June 30, 1936," p. 4; Gettysburg National Cemetery, "Annual Report for the Gettysburg National Cemetery, Year Ending July 31, 1937," n.p.; and Gettysburg National Cemetery, "Annual Report for Gettysburg National Cemetery, Year Ending July 31, 1938," n.p.; File No. 207-01, Gettysburg, CCF, RG 79.

126. Gettysburg National Cemetery, "Annual Report for the Gettysburg National Cemetery, Year Ending July 31, 1935," p. 4.

Maintenance operations in the cemetery in fiscal year 1936 were remarkably similar to those during the previous year. There were, however, two exceptions. Since the entire cemetery roadway was resurfaced road maintenance consisted "entirely in keeping the grass cut along the edge and shoulders and keeping the catch basins clear of dirt and leaves." Considerable forestry work was also carried out in the cemetery during 1936. According to Nett all of the

minor forestry work accomplished in the cemetery during the past travel year has been done by a detail from the CCC camp under an able Foreman, until June 13th when a crew of men under B. J. Baker, Technical Foreman of the tree Preservation Crew of the National Park Service arrived at the cemetery and began work on the date of June 15, and ending on June 30, 1936. During this period this crew pruned all trees in the entire cemetery, did all cabling, rod bracing and cavity work, and also created Eight Lightning cables to protect the entire cemetery. During this time they used 200 pounds tree food and 100 pounds of soil fertilizer.¹²⁷

Maintenance work in the cemetery during fiscal year 1937 was similar to that of the previous two years. In April 1937 six rooms and the hall of the superintendent's lodge were papered. The office, kitchen, bathroom, and pantry interiors were painted, and all exterior woodwork on the building was painted. During the summer two brick masons were hired to repoint the storage buildings and the rostrum. The marble headstones in the cemetery were cleaned, and the Lincoln Speech Memorial was repointed.¹²⁸

Finances

As aforementioned, appropriations for the cemetery were meager during the 1930s. Annual allotments during these years averaged some \$2,900, barely enough to keep the cemetery operating at a minimal level.¹²⁹

127. Gettysburg National Cemetery, "Annual Report for the Gettysburg National Cemetery, Year Ending June 30, 1936," n.p.

128. Gettysburg National Cemetery, "Annual Report for the Gettysburg National Cemetery, Year Ending July 31, 1937," n.p.

129. Gettysburg National Cemetery, "Annual Report for the Gettysburg National Cemetery, Year Ending July 31, 1935," p. 5; Gettysburg National Cemetery, "Annual Report for the Gettysburg National Cemetery, Year Ending June 30, 1936," p. 6; Gettysburg National Cemetery, "Annual Report for the Gettysburg National Cemetery, Year Ending July 31, 1937," n.p.; and Gettysburg National Cemetery, "Annual Report for Gettysburg National Cemetery, Year Ending July 31, 1938," n.p.

Visitation

Visitation to the cemetery was heavy during the 1930s. From October 1, 1935, to July 31, 1936, for instance, it was estimated that 806,492 persons visited the cemetery by automobile or bus, the number of cars being 203,973. Some 139 school groups from various states visited the cemetery for "educational purposes."¹³⁰ Visitation to the cemetery was down somewhat between October 1, 1936, and June 30, 1937, when 156,064 cars and buses carrying some 626,524 persons were tabulated. Included in these numbers were 150 school groups.¹³¹

Superintendent Nett commented on the attractiveness of the national cemetery in his annual report for fiscal year 1938. In his concluding remarks, he observed that "from the viewpoint" of tourists "from every state in the Union, Canada, Hawaii and Canal Zone," Gettysburg was "the most attractive National Cemetery in the entire country."¹³²

Special Occasions

Special occasions in the cemetery are covered in the aforementioned section on this topic for the park.

130. Gettysburg National Cemetery, "Annual Report for the Gettysburg National Cemetery, Year Ending June 30, 1936," n.p.

131. Gettysburg National Cemetery, "Annual Report for the Gettysburg National Cemetery, Year Ending July 31, 1937," n.p.

132. Gettysburg National Cemetery, "Annual Report for Gettysburg National Cemetery, Year Ending July 31, 1938," n.p.

CHAPTER IX:
ADMINISTRATION OF GETTYSBURG NATIONAL MILITARY PARK AND
CEMETERY UNDER THE NATIONAL PARK SERVICE DURING THE 1940s

INTRODUCTION

Administration of Gettysburg National Military Park and Cemetery during the 1940s was affected to a large extent by the budget and personnel cutbacks of the war and postwar years. Park operations were limited largely to performing essential activities for the maintenance of the park and cemetery. Portions of the battlefield were utilized by the military during the war. Visitation was reduced by wartime travel restrictions, but the postwar years witnessed ever-increasing tourism.

Despite the setbacks of the war years the National Park Service attempted to refine further its administrative policies for preservation, interpretation, and development of "national battlefield parks." The results of these efforts were summarized in two memorandums issued by Acting Regional Director Oliver G. Taylor on September 3 and October 6, 1943. The memorandums stated:

A national battlefield park is made up of historic lands, structures, and physical objects which constitutes the physical data or source material for the study and understanding of the battle and other historic events that occurred there. It is important that these historic objects be thought of as basic historical records or documentation. When so regarded, it is apparent that this complex historic object (the battlefield and everything on it) should be preserved or restored and presented to the public as nearly as possible in the physical appearance that it had at the time of its wartime use. If it becomes greatly altered or changed by man or by erosion, its importance as historical source material and its value in enabling one to understand the battle become materially lessened. . . . If a battlefield area is already greatly changed by reforestation or agriculture practices, the long-range development program of the park should aim at the gradual restoration of the war-time scene by whatever steps appear most practicable, taking into consideration the fact that erosion is as destructive of historic scene as man himself. The long-range development program then becomes that of a balanced program to combat as much as possible the destructive forces of man and of nature.

The guiding principles of battlefield park administration and development should be to present to the public the original battlefield scene as nearly as possible. Advantageous lease arrangements which lower the cost of land acquisition, land management, and physical restoration should be encouraged.

For instance, if a peach orchard was a key point of struggle during the battle, as at Gettysburg, it is desirable that the battlefield park should include a peach orchard on that site. But, since it is not expedient for the National Park Service to be in the peach orchard business, this desideratum should be affected by a lease arrangement with a local farmer, or other suitable agency. If it were planned to acquire such a site for national park purposes, the cost price of the lands might, perhaps, be scaled down considerably by granting the owner the right to continue to operate the orchard for life or for a term of years. Funds saved by this practical device could be used to acquire other needed acreage or sites.¹

GETTYSBURG NATIONAL MILITARY PARK

Military Utilization of Park Land

During the summer and fall of 1942 there was discussion at Gettysburg as to what should be done with the eighteen buildings and related facilities at the former CCC Camp No. 2, located to the rear of McMillan's Woods on West Confederate Avenue.² Upon the order of the regional office at Richmond, Superintendent Coleman on October 3, 1942, prepared lists of buildings which the park wished to retain and those available for transfer to other governmental agencies. The structures desired for retention were the administration building and technical quarters for salvage purposes and the officers' quarters for storage of fire tools for protection of the western portion of the park and miscellaneous storage. The structures that were available for transfer included five barracks, the mess hall, educational building, recreation hall, bathhouse, latrine, powerhouse, supply storage, line and cement shed, oilhouse, and army garage.³

While the disposition of the camp structures was under consideration, War Department officials visited Gettysburg. They examined facilities in the area preparatory to establishing a small training camp for military aviators who would use a flying field two miles west of Gettysburg. Among the facilities they seriously considered was the former CCC

1. "Statement For National Battlefield Parks," (Acting Director Oliver G. Taylor's memorandums of September 3 and October 6, 1943), Vertical Files, GNMP Library.

2. The camp was closed on March 25, 1942, and the CCC depot at the camp was closed in August.

3. Liske to Superintendent, Gettysburg National Military Park, September 26, 1942, and Coleman to Regional Director, Region 1 (and enclosures), October 3, 1942, File No. 601, Gettysburg, RG 79, FRC, Philadelphia.

Camp No. 2 and some adjoining park land.⁴ When these proposed plans failed to materialize, the CCC camp was transferred to the Farm Security Administration (Regional Office, Upper Darby, Pennsylvania) on February 9, 1943. Thereafter, the camp was made available to the Pennsylvania State College School of Agriculture for agricultural extension services.⁵

A special permit was granted to the Jersey City Quartermaster Depot for use of a portion of the park museum for office space on January 29, 1943. The permit, which remained in effect until January 9, 1946, meant that the already cramped space of the park headquarters was further reduced during the war.⁶

In November 1943 the former CCC camp, including approximately 50 acres, was leased to the War Department and occupied by soldiers from Camp Ritchie, Maryland. It was renamed Camp George H. Sharpe in honor of General Meade's intelligence officer during the Battle of Gettysburg. These troops occupied the camp until July 28, 1944.⁷

The War Department was granted permission to establish a prisoner of war work camp on the battlefield in May 1944. The camp which was under the jurisdiction of the U.S. Army, Third Service Command, was located on fifteen acres of the Codori farm west of the High Water Mark and immediately south of the Home Sweet Home Motel on Emmitsburg Road. In June a group of forty German prisoners was brought from Camp Meade and placed temporarily in the Gettysburg National Guard armory building on Confederate Avenue. This detachment, under the supervision of military police of the Third Service Command, prepared the area for occupancy.

The work camp site, which was leased to a group of local food processors, consisted of a nine-strand barbwire fence enclosure, approximately 400 feet north/south and 600 feet east/west. Four guard towers were located at the corners of the compound. Squad tents for

4. Coleman to Director, National Park Service, November 2, 1942, and Coleman to Regional Director, Region One, November 10, 1942, File No. 601, Gettysburg, RG 79, FRC, Philadelphia. Later two 8' x 10' frame buildings were leased and transferred from the park to the Boroughs of Biglerville and New Oxford for airplane observation posts. Permits and Leases in force on October 1, 1943, at Gettysburg National Military Park, File No. 901, Gettysburg, RG 79, FRC, Philadelphia.

5. McEntee to Interior Department Representative, Advisory Council, Civilian Conservation Corps, February 9, 1943, and Allen to Superintendent, Gettysburg National Military Park, April 17, 1946, File No. 601, Gettysburg, RG 79, FRC, Philadelphia.

6. Coleman to Regional Director, Region One, April 19, 1946, File No. 201, Gettysburg, RG 79, FRC, Philadelphia.

7. Gettysburg National Military Park, "Annual Report for Gettysburg National Military Park and Cemetery, Fiscal Year Ending June 30, 1944," p. 2, File No. 207, Gettysburg, CCF, RG 79.

housing the guards (10 enlisted men and 5 officers) were adjacent to the compound on the south side of the camp. Three septic tanks, sewer lines, a drain tile sewage field, a one-inch water line, and electric lines were installed to service the compound.⁸

The main group of prisoners arrived on June 20, 1944, and were immediately sent out to local farmers and packing plants to work as civilian agricultural laborers. The number of prisoners was increased to 400 during the months from July to November to provide assistance to the local farmers in Adams and surrounding counties who were affected by labor shortages. Any farmer, fruit grower, or packing plant needing help could request camp laborers through the United States Employment Service board in Gettysburg. This agency in turn made arrangements with the camp commander. Prisoners were transported (and guarded by military police) to such places as Littlestown, Biglerville, Hanover, Middletown, Chambersburg, and Emmitsburg. Prevailing wages paid by employers were \$1 per hour with 10 cents per hour credited to the prisoner of war's account, the balance going to the federal government to cover food, housing, and supervision expenses. Following the close of the fruit and vegetable season the camp was reduced to approximately 200 prisoners and moved to the former CCC Camp No. 2 on the battlefield on November 15 for winter quarters. During the winter months of 1944-45 the prisoners' chief assignment was cutting pulpwood.⁹

The facilities of former CCC Camp No. 2 continued to be used throughout 1945 for the German POW compound. By July the number of prisoners there had risen to some 350. That month a second "temporary" POW "tent" camp was opened adjacent to the "permanent" compound with 350 new inmates arriving to help relieve the manpower shortage in local Adams County canning factories and to cut pulpwood.¹⁰ By the end of the summer the two POW camps had a total of 932 prisoners engaged in various agricultural pursuits in Adams, Franklin, York, and Cumberland counties. Even with these numbers, however, demand for labor exceeded the supply of prisoners, the United States Employment Service receiving requests for more than 1,100 prisoners at a time. During the year of 1945, 697 prisoners were used by canning plants, 373 by pulpwood operators, 426 by orchard owners, 88 by farmers

8. Coleman to Regional Director, Region One (and enclosures), May 20, 1944, File No. 201, Gettysburg, RG 79, FRC, Philadelphia.

9. Major Lawrence C. Thomas, "Location of the Prisoner of War Camp on the Gettysburg Battlefield during World War II – 1944-1945," and *Gettysburg Times*, October 16, 1944, Vertical Files, GNMP: WWII German POW Camp, Emmitsburg Rd., GNMP Library.

10. *Gettysburg Times*, July 11, 21, 1945, Vertical Files, GNMP: WWII German POW Camp, Emmitsburg Rd., GNMP Library.

for filling silos, cutting corn, and harvesting grain, and 178 by fertilizer, fruit-packing, and cold storage plants.¹¹

The POW camps at Gettysburg were disbanded effective April 2, 1946. It was noted by the *Gettysburg Times* that while initial reaction to the POWs in 1944 was mixed, they had become generally well-received by 1945.¹² Several well-publicized escapes by prisoners in July 1944 and January 1946 had made the local populace apprehensive, but the quick capture of the escapees provided the local community with a relative sense of well-being.¹³

Following abandonment of the CCC camp by the War Department, the buildings were leased to the Farm Labor Branch of the Department of Agriculture. Thus, the buildings were used from June 1, 1946, to December 31, 1947, to house transient laborers who worked in the nearby area's farms and orchards.¹⁴

Park Restoration Activities

Despite the limitations imposed on park programs by the wartime austerity budgets some restoration activities were carried out in the park. One example was the restoration of the Peach Orchard begun in late December 1941. The work was carried out under the direction of Harold Steiner of the Pennsylvania State College Experimental Observatory. Some 270 trees were planted in squares fifteen feet apart, the plan being to use alternate rows for experimental purposes on the peach borer. Steiner supervised the care and maintenance of the orchard for several years.¹⁵

During the winter of 1943-44 the Gettysburg park staff, led by Tilberg, developed proposals for restoration of Meade's Headquarters and exterior restoration of the Bryan

11. *Gettysburg Times*, April 13, 1946, Vertical Files, GNMP: WWII German POW Camp, Emmitsburg Rd., GNMP Library.

12. *Ibid.*

13. *York Gazette*, July 6, 1944, and *Gettysburg Times*, January 9, 1946, Vertical Files, GNMP: WWII German POW Camp, Emmitsburg Rd., GNMP Library; and Blair to Coleman, April 2, 1946, and Coleman to Regional Director, Region One, April 24, 1946, File No. 201, Gettysburg, RG 79, FRC, Philadelphia.

14. Allen to Director, July 3, 1946, and Coleman to Regional Director, Region One, May 29, 1947, File No. 201, Gettysburg, RG 79, FRC, Philadelphia.

15. Tilberg to Regional Director, Region One Headquarters, January 5, 1942, File No. 207-01, Gettysburg, CCF, RG 79.

House. The proposals received the endorsement of Superintendent Coleman and the regional and Washington offices. According to Acting NPS Director Hillory A. Tolson the proposed restoration work appeared to be "reasonable" as "recreating and perpetuating the historical scene in key areas on the Gettysburg battlefield." While budgetary and personnel limitations prevented actual restoration work from beginning until after the war research efforts to document the historical, architectural, and archeological details of the buildings continued.¹⁶

Park Interpretive Program

Gettysburg National Military Park began conducting a series of weekly campfire programs during the months of July, August, and early September in 1941 at the base of East Cemetery Hill. The programs which supplemented a limited park interpretation program, consisted primarily of motion pictures or slides illustrating the features of National Park Service areas presented by visiting speakers.¹⁷

In addition to the campfire programs interpretive activities in the park during the war included orientation lectures by park staff at the battlefield relief map in the park museum. Besides the relief map the museum contained interpretive maps and historical photographs. Guided tours by park historians were limited to military, convention, and educational groups. Park publication sales were limited to the 16-page booklet prepared in 1940.¹⁸

The campfire series was canceled during the summer of 1943 because of wartime travel difficulties,¹⁹ but was resumed in the summer of 1944. Historian Tilberg and National Cemetery Superintendent William Allison presented a series of six illustrated talks on the campaign and Battle of Gettysburg as well as the history of the park and cemetery on Sunday evenings.²⁰

16. Taylor to Director, December 22, 1943; Tolson to Regional Director, Region One, January 5, 1944, and Acting Regional Director to Superintendent, Gettysburg National Military Park, January 12, 1944, File No. 620, Gettysburg, CCF, RG 79.

17. Coleman to Director, National Park Service, May 4, 1942, File No. 840, Gettysburg, CCF, RG 79.

18. Monthly Statistical Report On Interpretive Services, Gettysburg National Military Park, March, April 1942, File No. 840, Gettysburg, CCF, RG 79.

19. Gettysburg National Military Park, "Annual Report for Gettysburg National Military Park and Cemetery, Fiscal Year Ending June 30, 1913," p. 2, File No. 207-01, Gettysburg, CCF, RG 79.

20. *Gettysburg Times*, July 27, 31, August 7, 14, 21, 28, and September 6, 1944, Tilberg Files, Campfire Programs – News Clippings, GNMP Library.

During the late 1940s the park interpretive program continued to include the aforementioned services. Illustrated lectures and motion pictures continued to be used for the summer campfire programs, and park historians gave orientation talks over the relief map and guided tours of the battlefield to organized groups who visited the park.²¹

Installation of Interpretive Markers and Field Exhibits

Prior to 1942 the park had no interpretive and directional signs as a result of opposition by the battlefield guides.²² During the spring of 1942 the Gettysburg park staff developed materials for seven field exhibits in the park. The exhibits were to be placed at The Angle, Little Round Top, Spangler's Spring, Meade's Headquarters, Devil's Den, Reynolds Avenue, and Oak Ridge. Each exhibit was to contain an orientation map showing park avenues, main battle lines, landmarks, and the location of the party examining the exhibit. The exhibits would also have one or two historic/panoramic photographs along with a general caption pertaining to the Park Service and guide service and a specific caption describing the historical significance of the area in which the exhibit was located.²³

After considerable review and revision by Washington Office and regional personnel, initial efforts to prepare the exhibits were begun during the fall of 1942.²⁴ However, opposition by the battlefield guides, as well as wartime cutbacks, prevented erection of the exhibits and as a result only five simple interpretive markers were installed. In 1947-48 the planned seven exhibits were installed near Reynolds Avenue, Oak Ridge Tower, Spangler's Spring, The Angle, Little Round Top, Devil's Den, and the North Carolina Monument on Seminary Ridge.²⁵

21. Historian's Narrative Reports, January 1946 – December 1949, GNMP Library.

22. Gettysburg National Military Park, "Annual Report for Gettysburg National Military Park and Cemetery, Fiscal Year Ending June 30, 1942," n.p., File No. 207, Gettysburg, CCF, RG 79.

23. Coleman to Regional Director, Region One, May 15, 1942, File No. 883, Gettysburg, CCF, RG 79.

24. See, for instance, Assistant Regional Director to Director, October 6, 1942, Historical Files, MARO-CR.

25. Frederick Tilberg, "Museum Prospectus, Gettysburg National Military Park," January 23, 1947, Vertical Files, Museum Prospectus, GNMP Library, and Cox to Superintendent, Gettysburg National Military Park, March 3, 1948, Historical Files, MARO-CR.

Planning for Automobile Tour Route and Administration-Museum Building

During the war, park, regional, and Washington officials began discussions relative to development of a park tour route and the location of an Administration-Museum Building in the park. The need for such a building was widely recognized in view of the cramped space the park administration had in its suite of eight rooms on the second floor of the Gettysburg post office. In September 1942 three sites for the proposed structure were studied: Water tower hill along Baltimore Street, several hundred feet from the Cyclorama; general vicinity of the Rosensteel National Museum opposite the west entrance to the national cemetery; and a plot north of the avenue into Meade's Headquarters along Hancock Avenue near the High Water Mark. Although there was no general consensus on the most desirable site for the building, it was generally agreed by park and regional personnel that the building should be near the end of the park's proposed tour route and close to the national cemetery.

While the first two sites were privately owned and would thus be expensive to obtain, the third site received favorable attention by Regional Supervisor of Historic Sites Roy E. Appleman. In an analysis of the three sites, he stated the views that would ultimately be accepted by the Washington Office in determining upon construction of the Administration-Museum Building near the High Water Mark (Site No. 3):

. . . The site is now owned by the government and within the park. It is undeveloped and slightly behind the line of battle. The panorama of the battlefield area from this site, along Hancock Avenue and slightly to the north of The Angle, is indeed excellent, providing a view of almost 360 degrees. The full circle could be brought into view very probably by some vista cutting at the one point where trees cut off the view for a small segment. The field of Pickett's charge is immediately in front of one. The confederate line is directly opposite. Oak Hill and the Peace Light are in view. At the other end the two Round Tops can be seen, as well as such areas as the Peach Orchard, the Wheat Field, and Devils Den. Culp's Hill rises at the back. The full extent of the federal line can clearly be grasped by the eye from this point. It is immediately adjacent the most famous spot on the battlefield, The Angle or the High Water Mark, and is along the main park road, Hancock Drive, along the Federal line. It is almost exactly on the spot from which the cyclorama was painted as a control point or focal point. This is an important consideration as the cyclorama is to be housed in the new administration-museum building as its most important single exhibit. . . . From here most can be comprehended by the visitor if he is unable to go elsewhere. This factor I consider to be the most important single consideration in selecting the site for the main

interpretive center for a battlefield area. From this site is only a short walk to the National Cemetery.²⁶

After a series of meetings and discussions Superintendent Coleman prepared a memorandum for Regional Director Thomas J. Allen on October 16, 1942, detailing park proposals for a historical tour route and development of the park's museum-cyclorama administrative headquarters. The memorandum stated that a historical tour of a battlefield "should be primarily an educational feature." It should "aim to put forth a clear; uninterrupted chronological narrative of events, readily understandable to visitors who are entirely unacquainted with the battlefield and the story." Accordingly, the memorandum was

a study of the methods of directing the public over such a tour in the Gettysburg National Military Park. It proposes a system for controlling the public movements, which will enable the park authority to contact the largest number of visitors and will enable the visiting public to learn a complete story of the battle; and visit the principal features of the park in a normal sequence and in the shortest possible time.

The memorandum described the unsatisfactory existing methods employed by visitors to see the park. At the time there were "as many different routes followed to obtain the story of the battle as there are approach roads to Gettysburg." In every case

where people approach the town on principal highways they are met outside and within the town limits by professional guides. If they choose to employ a guide, they are started over the nearest part of the field and circulate in a clockwise manner up and down the two general battle lines. If they do not employ a guide, they probably enter the first park road, wander around the park roads and obtain no concrete picture of the conflict. If, by chance, they obtain good information they are directed to the park headquarters at the post office, where they receive the information of the battle from a park employee over the relief map of the battlefield, and then are able to go out on the field and to follow through a logical route.

The present tour prescribed by the Park Staff, although not necessarily followed by the professional guides, starts at the Chambersburg Pike Contact Station and traveling in a clockwise manner, leads northward over Oak Ridge (first day), then through Gettysburg to East Confederate Avenue, over East Confederate Avenue to Spangler' Spring (morning of the third), thence northward over Culp's Hill to the National Cemetery (dedicated four and one-half months after battle); the tour then continues southward past the Bloody Angle and High Water Mark (afternoon third day), the climax of the

26. Appleman to Acting Regional Director, September 28, 1942, Historical Files, MARO-CR. Also see Acting Regional Director to Superintendent, Gettysburg National Military Park, October 14, 1942, Vertical Files, Visitor Center (s) Prospectus 1940-1960's, GNMP Library.

battle, thence to the Round Top and Devil's Den, thence to the Wheatfield and Peach Orchard, scenes of the afternoon of the second day's fighting, to West Confederate Avenue and northward along this avenue which marks the Confederate locations during the second and third days, to Seminary Ridge and the Chambersburg Road, thence to the place of beginning. As will be seen on the plan, this tour cuts up the chronology of the battle in several places. It also takes the visitors through sections of the park where it is difficult to keep oriented with other parts of the field because of the winding roads and the wooded hills and valleys.

An alternate short tour route also prescribed, travels in the same general direction but bypasses the Culp's Hill and Spangler's Spring area and covers mainly the second and third days battlefield south of Gettysburg

The memorandum proposed a series of changes that would improve the visitor's experience in the park. Relative to the topic of an initial museum visit, Coleman observed:

A premise that has long been held for all previous studies of the historical tour of this battlefield, is that all visitors should be directed first to a museum or interpretive center.

At this park the interpretative center will include the cyclorama Painting of Lee's final assault (Pickett's Charge) on the afternoon of July 3. It is believed that the greatest educational value of this picture will be obtained when viewed at the end of the tour rather than at the beginning. The initial viewing of this painting would detract much of the drama from the story of the battle, whereas viewing it after obtaining a knowledge of the evolution of the battle, of locations and names on the field, and after coming from the terrain of the Bloody Angle, would seem to put a real emphasis on the pictorial value of this painting. The heroic and tragic realism depicted in this painting should be carried away by the visitor and remain uppermost in the memories of Gettysburg.

Concerning the method of visitor contact the superintendent noted:

The method of visitor contact at this park has been given much thought in the past but due to various factors not under control of the park, such as the professional guide system, lack of a conspicuous administration building location, etc., the percentage of the contacts at the park headquarters has been small. Previously it has been the plan to contact visitors on the perimeter of the field and it was under this plan that the contact stations on the Emmitsburg and Chambersburg roads were built and others projected on the main public entrance roads to Gettysburg. Under this plan it has been difficult to get the visitor started in the right continuity at the first day's field. Also, many visitors new to the section wish to get into town and get oriented before investigating the field and will not stop or be stopped at the outside contact station. There are two important factors in the success of the tour; One, to make contact with a large percentage of visitors, and second, to get them

directly and quickly to the beginning of the tour route on the first day's field at the Chambersburg Pike contact station. . . .

. . . Hence, it is proposed that all visitors excepting those arriving over the Chambersburg Pike be allowed to gravitate or be directed by signs to the borough square for the initial contact. . . .

This plan takes the visitor out in the open for the initial story where the activity and plan of the battle can be readily visualized. As a development of the Chambersburg Pike contact station for a site to give the initial talk on the battle, it is recommended that the medium sized relief map now displayed in the lobby of the Gettysburg Hotel be set up at the contact station. With very few changes a sizable room can be made in the station that would accommodate the normal group. For the present during fair weather the story could be told outside. Starting from this point and using the present road system as a route, it is found that all the major events of the combat may be told in a proper chronological sequence without again traversing the streets of Gettysburg until the tour and story of the battle are completed. . . .

In the memorandum Coleman proposed a reverse tour route encompassing "all the main points of activity." According to him this tour would "keep the visitor fully oriented at all times" and maintain "a normal sequence of events from the beginning of the battle to the end." The tour would not "cris-cross over the field and events to the total confusion of the visitor, as is the case of the present tour route." It would keep "the visitor contact with the public highways and village travel to a minimum during the tour so that the story of the battle can receive all attention."

Following the park tour, the visitor would be directed to view the cyclorama and view the national cemetery. Coleman stated further:

Sometime in the future it may be advisable to restrict the Cemetery to foot traffic except for maintenance. For this reason it has been considered an advantage to place the cyclorama painting and museum building in close proximity to the Cemetery so that they could both be visited from the same stop at the completion of the tour.²⁷

As the discussion of the location of the interpretive center building continued, Historian Tilberg analyzed the question in a memorandum to Superintendent Coleman on October 19. The superintendent quickly forwarded the memorandum to Regional Director Allen. Tilberg examined the advantages and disadvantages of four locations for the proposed building: (1) Triangle – Emmitsburg Road and Taneytown Road; (2) East Cemetery Hill near

27. Coleman to Regional Director, Region One, October 16, 1942, Vertical Files, Visitor Center (s) Prospectus 1940-1960's, GNMP Library.

the borough water reservoir; (3) Triangle – Baltimore Road and Emmitsburg Road; and (4) Hancock Avenue, south of Ziegler's Grove. According to Tilberg the interpretive center should be located in the Emmitsburg-Taneytown road triangle for six principal reasons:

1. It is far more accessible from the streets of the borough of Gettysburg. Visitors who will arrive in Gettysburg from the west, north, east, and southeast will gravitate to the borough square. . . .

2. With the purchase of four low-value properties in the Emmitsburg Road-Taneytown Road triangle, there would be ample space for the Interpretative Center development, including a parking area.

3. The Interpretative Center location in the Emmitsburg Road-Taneytown Road triangle would offer easy walking access to the National Cemetery and National Monument, both of which are points of heavy visitation because of the broad interest in the place where Lincoln delivered his Gettysburg Address. . . .

4. As the Interpretative Center structure will be a large building including the Museum and Cyclorama, it is felt that its location near The Angle would be an objectionable intrusion upon historic ground. . . . It is felt, on the other hand, that the site in the Emmitsburg Road-Taneytown Road triangle, being on land which is not as important battle ground and also being adjacent to the borough limits, would not be so great an intrusion upon historic ground.

5. An observation position on the Interpretative Center building located in the Emmitsburg Road-Taneytown Road triangle would render possible a view northward, westward, and southwestward over the field of Pickett's Charge. . . .

6. Convenient entrances to the Emmitsburg Road-Taneytown Road triangle can be made from the Emmitsburg Road, the Taneytown Road, and the Battlefield Avenue. In the case of the site near The Angle, a Park road some 200 yards long from the Emmitsburg Road to the Interpretative Center would be necessary, and such a road would be constructed over the important battle ground of Pickett's Charge. . . .

In his memorandum Tilberg strongly urged acquisition of the National Museum owned by the Rosensteel family. He observed:

. . . . It is desirable to acquire it, not only in order to eliminate strong business rivalry and the misleading character of its ownership, but to acquire the exceptional collection of relics contained therein. It is suggested that the greater part of the building and the electrical relief map be left standing in the present location.

In this connection also, it is to be pointed out that there is a real need of providing a safe road crossing from the National Cemetery to Hancock Avenue, the main Union line of battle. A crossing which would follow the battle line and which would also be the safest highway crossing would be the high point of the Taneytown Road opposite the old section of the National (Rosensteel) Museum. With the purchase of the Rosensteel Museum, and the removal of this section of the building, the crossing of Taneytown Road would follow closely the Union battle line and also cross the road at the point of least hazard.²⁸

On February 19, 1945, Superintendent Coleman informed the regional director as to his thoughts on the location of the proposed interpretive center building. Among other things, he noted:

The Emmitsburg-Taneytown Road triangle would be the most accessible location for the average Park visitor. The Emmitsburg Road is heavily traveled and a location near this highway would attract more visitors than any other that we have considered. It would have the further advantage of requiring no long access road such as might be necessitated if the Hancock Avenue location were chosen. I think that the view of the Battlefield would be approximately equal from either location provided that the properties west of the Emmitsburg Road can be acquired if the triangle site is selected. From the triangle the visitor can see the first day's field as well as the south end of the Park in the direction of the Round Tops. The area of Culp's and Wolff's Hills, Cavalry Field and the location of the main Union reserves would be hidden. From the Hancock Avenue site the Visitor could not see the first day's field, but the other important areas mentioned above would be visible. I think that the view from the Museum is important, particularly because of the Cyclorama painting, and from either location it would be considered good.

From the view-point of a spot on which to locate the Cyclorama, I prefer the Hancock Avenue location because it is near the central point from which the artist worked. The Hancock Avenue location would place the building behind the Union line, whereas, in the triangle, it would be in front of that line. A building of this size is of course an intrusion on any part of the field, but I consider these factors to be approximately equal in the two locations previously under consideration.²⁹

After further study and discussion NPS Director Newton B. Drury determined on January 28, 1946, that the Gettysburg administration-museum-cyclorama building would be

28. Tilberg to Superintendent, October 19, 1942, and Coleman to Regional Director, Region One, October 19, 1942, Vertical Files, Visitor Center (s) Prospectus 1940-1960's, GNMP Library.

29. Coleman to Regional Director, Region One, February 19, 1945, Vertical Files, Visitor Center (s) Prospectus 1940-1960's, GNMP Library.

located "on relatively flat ground, between Emmitsburg Road and Ziegler's Grove" in "front of and below Cemetery Ridge."³⁰

Thereafter, Tilberg prepared a museum prospectus for Gettysburg National Military Park which was submitted for approval on January 23, 1947. The prospectus analyzed local factors affecting museum development, outlined proposed development needs, and included cost estimates for a central park interpretive center building (\$170,000). As part of his study Tilberg recommended the course of travel that should be taken for guided tours of the battlefield and points of interest where field exhibits should be placed.

The location of the proposed park museum at Ziegler's Grove, according to Tilberg, rendered the museum "readily accessible to the visitor from a main avenue of travel on the Battlefield as well as by highway." The "greater number of tourists" entered Gettysburg "by way of highways from the west, north, east, and southeast." This traffic, gravitating to Center Square in the town, could "be directed by suitable signs or by an attendant at a contact station on Center Square" to the proposed museum site on U.S. Highway 15. In addition to the proposed park museum and center square contact station, the Park Service would maintain the entrance stations on the Emmitsburg and Chambersburg roads and the cemetery lodge as visitor contact centers. A crossing of Taneytown Road some 75 yards north of the Rosensteel National Museum, connecting National Cemetery Avenue with Hancock Avenue, would facilitate visitor access from the national cemetery to Hancock Avenue and the proposed park museum.

Turning to a study of private museums at Gettysburg Tilberg noted that the Rosensteel, Shields, and Oak Ridge museums were "located on important battle ground which should be acquired by the United States Government for the preservation of the historic scene." The Rosensteel Museum would compete with the new park museum, located some 300 yards away, and thus raise "a problem which may call for solution at some future time."

In examining the interpretive thrusts and facilities of the proposed park museum Tilberg noted that "as one visitor in seven employs a guide, a large part of the visitor group relies for the story of the battle on the system of tablets which contain factual information but which present an inadequate story of the events which occurred." One of the chief purposes of the park museum would thus be "to serve this large segment of visitors who need help in understanding the battle but who do not care to give the time or to pay the fee for a tour of the Park, or who find the present guide system unattractive." Hence the park museum

30. Appleman to Regional Director, Region One, November 6, 1946, Historical Files, MARO-CR.

building would contain the cyclorama, a 200-seat lecture room where 15-minute motion picture or slide orientation presentations could be given, and museum room to house "a representative and well-displayed collection" of artifacts, historic photographs, and exhibits.³¹ Because of budgetary constraints it would be more than a decade before the recommendations in the prospectus would be implemented.

Park Land Acquisition Program

Despite wartime conditions and cutbacks the National Park Service pursued limited land acquisition efforts to protect the historic scene of the battlefield. The first such effort was a condemnation suit against William I. Shields in the vicinity of the Eternal Light Peace Memorial. In October 1942 Superintendent Coleman observed:

Condemnation proceedings for the acquisition of approximately twenty-eight acres of land adjacent to the Eternal Light Peace Memorial were in process during the year. A preliminary hearing before the Board of Viewers was held on August 27, 1941. It was found desirable to eliminate a small section of this parcel from the suit and because of the press of other business, the Department of Justice has been unable to complete the proceedings.³²

A hearing in the condemnation proceedings for the acquisition of some 23 acres of the Shields property was held in November 1943. Viewers estimated the value of the property at \$1,785, and neither side appealed the award. The transaction thus was completed early in fiscal year 1944.³³

In the late 1940s Gettysburg National Military park embarked on an extensive land acquisition program, using a special \$130,000 fund approved in the 1948 Interior Department Appropriation. Fourteen areas were designated for acquisition, the first two being a half-acre lot and a 67-acre plot near the Eternal Light Peace Memorial.³⁴

31. Frederick Tilberg, "Museum Prospectus, Gettysburg National Military Park, January 23, 1947, Vertical Files, Museum Prospectus, GNMP Library.

32. Gettysburg National Military Park, "Annual Report for Gettysburg National Military Park and Cemetery, Fiscal Year Ending June 30, 1942," n.p.

33. Gettysburg National Military Park, "Annual Report for Gettysburg National Military Park and Cemetery, Fiscal Year Ending June 30, 1944," p. 1.

34. Coffman to Regional Director, Region One (and enclosures), July 29, 1947, and Drury to the Secretary, December 12, 1947, WASO Park Archives.

Removal of Round Top Railroad From Park

During 1942-43 the Round Top Branch of the Reading Railroad, formerly owned by the Gettysburg and Harrisburg Railroad Company, was abandoned under authority of the Interstate Commerce Commission, and the tracks and ties removed "for World War II use." The majority of this 2½-mile branch was on Gettysburg park land on which the railroad company had obtained an easement prior to the acquisition of the land by the federal government in 1895. For years the Round Top Branch had been heavily used as both the Western Maryland and Gettysburg and Harrisburg systems ran numerous excursion trains to the battlefield from nearby metropolitan centers. The trains were taken to the Little Round Top terminus where the passengers disembarked and walked over the battlefield, finally rejoining the cars near the Pennsylvania Monument.

The Reading Railroad offered to donate all its "right, title, and interest in and to this land and also to donate a parcel which they own in fee simple at the southern extremity of the line." The southern parcel, however, was mortgaged, and thus the railroad company's offer was held up pending payment of a "nominal sum of money." The Reading Railroad provided a deed for the 15.29-acre property to the federal government in 1945, and on February 27, 1946, the National Park Service filed the deed with the Adams County recorder. According to a local newspaper account on February 27, 1946, the National Park Service immediately took steps to restore the land to its 1863 appearance:

Dr. J. Walter Coleman, superintendent of the park, said today that workmen are engaged in cutting away brush that has grown up along the railroad right of way since the tracks were torn out for salvage in 1942. . . .

Further plans for the park office call for removal of the cuts and fills established by the railroad along the right of way so that the entire scene may be restored to the appearance it had when the armies of the North and South locked here in battle in 1863.³⁵

35. *Gettysburg Times*, February 27, 1946, Vertical Files, Gettysburg Battlefield Trolley, GNMP Library; and Gettysburg National Military Park, "Annual Report for Gettysburg National Military Park and Cemetery, Fiscal Year Ending June 30, 1943," p. 3; Gettysburg National Military Park, "Annual Report for Gettysburg National Military Park and Cemetery, Fiscal Year Ending June 30, 1944," pp. 1-2; and Gettysburg National Military Park, "Annual Report for Gettysburg National Military Park and Cemetery, Fiscal Year Ending June 30, 1945," p. 1.

Park Maintenance Operations

Wartime budget and personnel restrictions curtailed maintenance operations and improvements in the park to mere routine day-to-day upkeep projects. The park staff concentrated on those essential activities which were intended to decrease permanent damage to structures and roads. During 1943, for instance, maintenance operations in the park consisted of replacement of the fuel and heating system in the Codori House with a coal burning furnace, installation of kitchen sinks in some park employee houses, necessary building and road repairs, and temporary repairs to stem the deterioration of the Eternal Light Peace Memorial.³⁶

Despite the wartime budget and personnel cutbacks Superintendent Coleman and his workforce initiated a program of park improvements during 1943-44 that placed the battlefield in "tip-top" shape for the 1944 visitation season. The *Gettysburg Times* of May 18, 1944, described the park improvements that had been accomplished. The staff had

cut most of the grass on the park and is engaged in cutting the remainder, nearly every building has been repaired and many whitewashed. Cannon have been repainted, ruts along roads have been filled, signs repainted, tangled brush at Little Round Top cleaned out and the 'field as a whole' is presenting a better appearance than it has for some time.³⁷

Although the park staff did what it could to "spruce up" the battlefield, the reduced maintenance operations were clearly taking their toll on the condition of the park by 1945. Superintendent Coleman noted in July of that year:

Handicapped by a limited appropriation and shortage of labor and materials, we have maintained the park in a fairly satisfactory condition. Park road damage was found to be more extensive than usual in the spring of 1945. The Regional Engineer and officials of the Public Roads Administration examined this damage with us, and at the end of the fiscal year we were planning to contract for road resurfacing on the Wheatfield Road, Virginia Memorial Drive and Spangler's Spring area. Several other extensive portions of our roads will need patching. Repairs to the Pennsylvania Monument and the Eternal Light Peace Memorial have been post-poned because of the lack of funds. The five steel observation towers in the park are badly in need of

36. Gettysburg National Military Park, "Annual Report for Gettysburg National Military Park and Cemetery, Fiscal Year Ending June 30, 1943," pp. 1-3.

37. *Gettysburg Times*, May 18, 1944, Newspaper Clippings [1929-1963], GNMP Library.

painting, but the shortage of skilled labor and the absence of funds have prevented our carrying out this work.³⁸

By the spring of 1946 additional funds and personnel made it possible to begin working on maintenance projects that had been postponed. As a result one of the five steel observation towers was painted in June 1946 and short sections of park roads "which were in the worst condition" were surface treated. As a result of inattention during the war, however, three major maintenance problems in the park required definite and immediate attention by the summer of 1946: Eternal Light Peace Memorial, Pennsylvania Monument, and the cyclorama.³⁹

Maintenance operations in the park, however, continued to be hindered in the postwar years by lack of adequate funds and materials and manpower ceilings. In July 1947, for instance, Superintendent Coleman observed:

The condition of our steel observation towers and two monuments in particular, the Eternal Light Peace Memorial and the Pennsylvania Memorial, is such that repairs are urgently needed. Fortunately two of the towers were repainted during the fiscal year 1947 and contracts have been awarded for the other three. Sample treatments of preservatives were placed on sections of the Peace Memorial. We hope to retard deterioration by continuing these applications. . . .

Historic buildings in the park have suffered because of our inability to repair them. This has been due to a lack of funds and materials in part, but also to the man power ceiling.

The maintenance of historic fences is becoming increasingly difficult. We made a careful survey of fences that were not in existence during the battle and which are not needed at present. As a result we have been able to decrease our future maintenance and salvage valuable materials.⁴⁰

38. Gettysburg National Military Park, "Annual Report for Gettysburg National Military Park and Cemetery, Fiscal Year Ending June 30, 1945," n.p.

39. Gettysburg National Military Park, "Annual Report, Gettysburg National Military Park and Fort Necessity National Battlefield Site, 1946," n.p., File No. 207-01, Gettysburg, CCF, RG 79.

40. Gettysburg National Military Park, "Annual Report, Gettysburg National Military Park and Fort Necessity National Battlefield Site, 1947," p. 2, File No. 207-01, Gettysburg, CCF, RG 79.

Park Agricultural Policy

In November 1943 NPS Director Newton B. Drury approved a policy statement concerning the issuance of special use permits for agricultural purposes in National Park Service areas. This policy, which would have a major impact on agricultural operations at Gettysburg, read in part:

It shall be the policy of the National Park Service that Special Use Permits for conforming agricultural uses may be issued for the maintenance of certain portions of historical, military, parkway, and other like areas where it is desired to perpetuate or restore man-made conditions. The chief objective in the administration of historical areas should be to present to the public the original historical scenes as nearly as possible. The historic lands, structures, and objects included in historical areas constitute the physical data or source material for the understanding and appreciation of the historical events that occurred there. If this body of physical data becomes, or has already become, greatly altered or changed by man or by erosion, its importance as historical source material and its value in enabling one to understand historical events will be materially lessened. The long-range development program of the National Park Service historical areas should therefore aim at the preservation of, and gradual restoration of, the historical scene and keeping open of areas that are an important part of the present interpretive program by whatever steps appear most practicable, such as mutually advantageous lease arrangements for farming lands formerly in agricultural use. The controlling guide to such preservation and restoration aims should be the historical base maps of the Master Plans. It is also the intent and purpose of this policy to foster land use practices which will improve the soil and prevent uses which tend to impoverish the soil.⁴¹

A major study of the agricultural program at Gettysburg was conducted by Regional Soil Conservationist O. B. Taylor in August 1944. Included in his work was a study of agricultural practices of each farm to determine whether soil conservation principles were being given proper consideration. The subject of whether continued agricultural practices were tending to perpetuate the farms as a part of the historic scene was also explored.

Among other findings Taylor noted that the park staff did not consider Drury's 1943 agricultural policy statement as superseding the park's 1938 farm policy. He went on to describe the agricultural practices and problems in the park:

We are now confronted with land problems which have had a progressive trend since the land was withdrawn from public ownership almost

41. Memorandum for the Director's Office and the Regional Directors, November 20, 1943, File No. 901, Gettysburg, CCF, RG 79.

half a century ago. Physical improvements and developments pose difficult problems, but it cannot be said that monuments, farm buildings, roads, period fences and other similar features at Gettysburg have been wanting in professional consideration to an extent comparable to agricultural land uses.

The problems are multiple, some reasonably simple of solution while others are complicated. In part they result from inhibitions placed on land use because of historical considerations, from lack of requiring permittees to incorporate conservation measures, failure to keep in close touch with permittees in order to learn whether a fair return is obtained, and allowing some permittees the use of more land than can be used economically. . . .

I was impressed by the extensive alterations made of barns to meet the sanitary trend of dairying, extensions made of poultry house and modernization of hog houses, but I do not share the opinion that tillage practices are adequate to save some fields from following others now fallen into disuse. . . .

It is my considered judgment that some land is approaching such complete impoverishment that unless some change is made at once it will not be cultivated ten years hence, that some land abandoned since 1935 resulted from improper practices such as we observed, and that by 1955 the tilled land will be reduced to about 60 or 65 per cent of that in use in 1935. I believe the Service now is assuming the cost of maintenance operations for a considerable acreage that rightfully would become the responsibility of permittees under a more realistic concept of land use. Moreover, unless conservation farming is initiated soon the Service may have no alternative but to assume a much larger maintenance as a means of perpetuating open land.

Abandoned fields show a fairly progressive ecological succession from coarse weeds and sparse grass to briars, sumac, cedar, and other weedy plants. To restore overgrown land to cropland is a major operation. Not to restore it may impair the park for the use intended. . . .

Accordingly, Taylor recommended that a farm planner from the Soil Conservation Service be brought to the park to develop a long-range and multi-faceted conservation program.⁴²

The Washington Office concurred in the recommendations of the Taylor study, and within months Park Service officials were consulting with Soil Conservation Service personnel in developing soil protection programs for park farms. In December 1944 Acting NPS Director Tolson observed, "the Office values highly the studies and reports which were made recently

42. Taylor to Regional Engineer, October 26, 1944, File No. 901, Gettysburg, CCF, RG 79. The conservation program, which was developed and implemented in subsequent years, included drainage of historic wetlands, recontouring, and removal of boulders to expedite mowing and cropping. Thus, this program represented the beginning of conflicts between land use/conservation and preservation of historic topographic battlefield features.

by the Regional Soil Conservationist whose object is to show specific needs for arresting depletion of the soil and its fertility, of conserving soil values, and of improving farm programs and practices.⁴³

The success of such conservation efforts in the farming operations at Gettysburg was noted by Superintendent Coleman in July 1946. He stated:

Our chief problem of conservation is that of preserving the land on which the Battle was fought in a condition as nearly as possible to that of 1863. With this in mind, we have supervised the activities of our farm tenants with a view to establishing or maintaining good farming practices and saving the soil. Some sheet erosion has been evident, but our worst problem has been that of soil depletion which has led to submarginal farming in some sections of the park. Acting on instructions from the Regional Soil Conservationist, we have supervised the fertilization and cultivation activities of our farm tenants and have insisted upon crop rotations that will be most beneficial to the soil. Contour farming on the Williams land adjacent to Reynolds Avenue on the 1st Day's Field has been started by a tenant who has leased this land for the first time this year.⁴⁴

Park Public Relations

When Coleman became park superintendent in 1941 he identified one of the pressing needs of park administration as being promotion of public relations with local community, historical, and political interest groups. During fiscal year 1942 visits by Director Drury, Supervisor of Historic Sites Ronald F. Lee, and Regional Director Allen and formation of an advisory committee of local citizens helped the park's relations with the licensed guides. Better public relations were fostered in 1943 as various park personnel presented talks and papers at annual meetings of local and state historical associations and town gatherings. As a result of the amicable relations with the Pennsylvania Commandery, Military Order of the Loyal Legion, that organization donated to the park some 250 Civil War books for its library. For the first time the park superintendent was invited by the Sons of Union Veterans to participate in the Memorial Day services at the national cemetery, Coleman reading the

43. Tolson to Regional Director, Region One, December 18, 1944, WASO Park Archives.

44. Gettysburg National Military Park, "Annual Report, Gettysburg National Military Park and Fort Necessity National Battlefield Site, 1946," n.p. As part of the continuing NPS effort to conserve the farm land in the park Regional Soil Conservationist O. B. Taylor prepared a "Soil and Moisture Conservation Master Plan Development Outline" for Gettysburg in September 1950. O. B. Taylor, "Gettysburg National Military Park, Soil and Moisture Conservation Master Plan Development Outline," September 1, 1950, File No. 201, Gettysburg, RG 79, FRC, Philadelphia.

Gettysburg Address during the program which was broadcast by a national radio hook-up. Park personnel generated goodwill by participating actively in Gettysburg community organizations, particularly those that were related to the war effort.⁴⁵

Superintendent Coleman continued his public relations program after the war. On April 2, 1947, for instance, he held a public relations workshop at Gettysburg for his staff. The session emphasized public relations techniques and approaches with respect to other employees, business people, correspondents, park and official visitors, park tenants and neighbors, community organizations, the press, and members of Congress. Discussions were held to determine proper handling of complaints and office courtesy procedures.⁴⁶

Licensed Battlefield Guide Service

Problems with supervision of the licensed battlefield guides continued to be a major problem for park management at Gettysburg throughout the 1940s. As a result a series of recommendations to reform the guide system were prepared on March 17, 1944, by Regional Director Oliver G. Taylor, Associate Regional Director Herbert Evison, and Superintendent Coleman. These three administrators prefaced their proposals by analyzing the Park Service's problems with the guides since 1933:

In 1933 when the National Park Service assumed administration, it found a situation wherein some of the guides were incompetent, others were inclined not to give the public full and courteous service, and most were using undignified methods of soliciting business. . . . The reputation of the National Park Service has undoubtedly suffered considerably because of them since the Service is held responsible, with some justice, for permitting them to exist.

Visitors have often complained that they have asked guides for information on how to reach certain places, such as the Peace Light Memorial, and have received the reply that the guides would be glad to direct them personally – for a fee. No other information would be offered. Guides have consistently avoided informing visitors of the existence of our museum and relief map in the Post Office Building, chiefly because such a stop would slightly prolong their trip, but partly because they do not want visitors to come in contact with National Park Service officials. By forestalling such contacts, they can lessen the possibility of complaints reaching the proper officials.

⁴⁵. Gettysburg National Military Park, "Annual Report for Gettysburg National Military Park and Cemetery, Fiscal Year Ending June 30, 1942," n.p., and Gettysburg National Military Park, "Annual Report for Gettysburg National Military Park and Cemetery, Fiscal Year Ending June 30, 1943," pp. 2-3.

⁴⁶. Coleman to Regional Director, Region One, April 9, 1947, File No. 00-01, Gettysburg, RG 79, FRC, Philadelphia.

The Park Service had taken steps to correct some of these conditions, according to the officials:

We have tried to improve these conditions and to eliminate abuses by various means. A training course was carried out in 1941-42; meetings were held and trips were made over the field. We then held an examination following which those who were found to be weak were given additional help. The quality of talks was thus somewhat improved, but lack of National Park Service contact with those who receive this service made it difficult to appraise the degree of improvement. An experiment was carried out in the middle nineteen-thirties whereby the initial visitor contact would be made only by park ranger historians, who would arrange for the guide service. This was unsuccessful as it resulted in constant bickering and complaint by the guides. The chief complaint was that the rangers did not push hard enough for business.

Turning to the basic faults of the existing guide system and their recommendations for changing the operation of the system the administrators stated:

We believe that the present system is not only unfair to the public but is undignified, unworthy of a great national shrine, and poor business procedure. Certainly no reputable business manager would conduct his enterprise in such fashion, which is suggestive of the street carnival or of the shoddy shop keeper who buttonholes his prospects on the sidewalk and tries to drag them into his store. The best and most effective means of improvement appears to be complete government control by placing all present guides on a per diem or salary basis and collecting fees through bonded government employees.⁴⁷

In December 1945 NPS Director Drury revived Superintendent McConaughy's proposal made in his 1936 annual report to place the guides on the federal payroll and make them directly responsible to the park superintendent. It was believed, according to the director, that this step would improve the quality of service rendered by the guides and would, at the same time, provide the guides approximately the same income they then received with fewer hours of unproductive work. Drury proposed to continue the guide fee, the receipts to be deposited in the federal treasury to cover the salaries of the guides. The proposal and a draft bill to effect these changes were approved by Secretary of the Interior Harold L. Ickes in January.⁴⁸ Later on April 19, 1946, NPS Acting NPS Director Tolson informed Regional Director Thomas J. Allen that the draft bill was

47. "Recommendations For Gettysburg Guide System Prepared Jointly by the Regional Director, the Associate Regional Director, and the Park Superintendent," March 17, 1944, File No. 843, Gettysburg, RG 79, FRC, Philadelphia.

48. Drury to the Secretary (and enclosure), December 10, 1945, WASO Park Archives.

the type of statute that should be enacted relating to the subject. It is the intention to give every guide now licensed an appointment "when-actually-employed" and regulate their actual employment to produce earnings equal as nearly as possible to their average under the present system. We believe that we can obtain sufficient funds to make such employment possible, and we feel that it will be possible to provide better working conditions for the men without all of them having to be present all of the time competing with each other for guide service as at present. . . .⁴⁹

The Battlefield Guides Association quickly mounted a political campaign to defeat the proposal, and Congressman Chester H. Gross refused to introduce the bill. Within days the association drafted a formal letter to the congressman giving their reasons for opposing the proposed legislation. A local newspaper article summarized the substance of the letter:

They [the guides] feel that over a period of more than half a century, they have rendered a service that is without equal. Most of the guides have grown up with the battlefield. They have witnessed the building of the avenues; the erection of the monuments and memorials, the dedicatory services held in conjunction therewith; the various reunions and anniversaries.

It is with pardonable pride that a Gettysburg Battlefield guide conducts his party, relating the deeds of heroism of which the battle is so replete.

They have entertained millions of people at no expense to our federal government. Our national debt is of unprecedented proportions and will be a burden on the taxpayers for generations.⁵⁰

Park Research Program

Throughout the years of World War II and its aftermath research continued to be a major component of the management of the park at Gettysburg. The research, most of which was carried out by Frederick Tilberg, was undertaken particularly in connection with planning work programs, historical restoration, land acquisition for the preservation of the historic scene, and study of specific phases of the battle in response to inquiries and interpretive needs.⁵¹

49. Tolson to Regional Director, Region One, April 19, 1946, WASO Park Archives.

50. *Gettysburg Times*, April 27, 1946, File No. 843, Gettysburg, RG 79, FRC, Philadelphia.

51. "Status of Research," [History Division, Region One, 1951], Historical Files, MARO-CR.

Park Visitation

Visitation at Gettysburg National Military Park and Gettysburg National Cemetery during the war years was reduced from the totals of the prewar years. Wartime travel restrictions and gas and tire rationing reduced visitation to a significant extent after Pearl Harbor. Large numbers of military personnel, however, continued to come to the park. The approximate annual visitation total for the park and cemetery during the years 1939-41 was some 627,000. During the war the visitation totals were:

1942	-	193,206
1943	-	66,761
1944	-	117,821
1945	-	197,741 ⁵²

The drop in visitation had repercussions for park visitor services during the war. In August 1943 Superintendent Coleman reported:

The two entrance stations, occupied by the park guides, were closed after December 1, 1942 and were not re-opened during the tourist season of 1943. This measure was taken in order to conserve mileage and time by the park guards whose duty it is to open and close these stations, maintain the fires, and raise and lower the flag. Because of the decrease in visitors, less patrolling has been necessary and two of the three guards have assisted with park maintenance.

A large number of military groups have visited the park, many of them coming as organizations, others in small parties. A considerable number of the military groups have taken advantage of our free service at the Cyclorama and in the park museum, most of these groups visiting the park on weekends. Several organizations have been conducted through the park. Military organizations have camped over night on the Battlefield but not to as great an extent as during the preceding year.⁵³

52. Tilberg, "Museum Prospectus: Gettysburg National Military Park," January 23, 1947, p. 13.

53. Gettysburg National Military Park, "Annual Report for Gettysburg National Military Park and Cemetery, Fiscal Year Ending June 30, 1943," pp. 1, 3. The military organizations generally camped on Pardee Field which could accommodate up to 200 persons and was located some 300 yards from the Spangler's Spring comfort station.

In fiscal year 1944 more than half the park visitors were members of the armed forces, although the most prominent visitor was President Roosevelt who toured the battlefield on October 3, 1943.⁵⁴

Visitation to the park and cemetery increased during the postwar years as wartime travel restrictions were eased. Available statistics indicate that the totals were 433,172 in fiscal year 1946, 523,188 in fiscal year 1947, 655,950 in fiscal year 1948 and 658,908 in fiscal year 1949.⁵⁵

During the postwar period Historian Tilberg prepared the aforementioned museum prospectus, one section of which was an analysis of factors relating to visitation of the battlefield. Among his observations were the following:

It has been found from a survey conducted in 1938, and subsequent periodic checks, that one visitor car in every seven employs a guide. In arriving at our total visitation, therefore, we have multiplied the number of guide tours by 7 to obtain the total number of cars and this number of guide tours has been multiplied by 4, the average number of persons in a car.

The seasons and the travel trends are definitely indicated in the visitation at Gettysburg. The number of visitors on the Battlefield follows closely, of course, the general tourist travel on the highways with a minimum of such travel in the winter months and a sharp increase in the Spring. June, July and August are normally the months of heaviest influx of tourists and the following two months show a gradual decline in the number of visitors. Much of the early Spring and late Autumn travel, and guided tours of the Battlefield, consists of New York State – Florida seasonal residents, while the main travel from the west begins early in June and continues through the summer. In addition to the tourists who come from a distance, a high percentage of whom take guided tours of the Battlefield, a large number of visitors come from Pennsylvania and adjacent states. The visitation from Pennsylvania and Maryland is far greater than that of any other State, although the percentage of guided tours is far less. This is accounted for by the large number of Pennsylvania and Maryland visitors who reside within a radius of 100 miles of Gettysburg and who probably drive to Gettysburg several times during the course of a summer on Sundays, holidays or on vacation tours.⁵⁶

54. Gettysburg National Military Park, "Annual Report for Gettysburg National Military Park and Cemetery, Fiscal Year Ending June 30, 1943," p. 1.

55. Gettysburg National Military Park, "Annual Report, Gettysburg National Military Park and Fort Necessity National Battlefield Site, 1946," n.p.; *Ibid.*, 1947, pp. 1-2; and *Ibid.* 1948, n.p.; File No. 207-01, Gettysburg, CCF, RG 79, and *Annual Report of the Director, National Park Service to the Secretary of the Interior, Fiscal Year Ended June 30, 1949*, p. 333.

56. Tilberg, "Museum Prospectus: Gettysburg National Military Park," January 23, 1947, pp.13-15.

Intrusions on Park Historic Scene

During the war the threat of intrusions on the historic park scene by private developments on adjacent private property abated. Such developments, however, resumed within months of the end of World War II. In July 1946 Superintendent Coleman noted some of these developments in his annual report:

Construction activities adjacent to the park started soon after the victory over Japan. 21 brick cabins have been built in connection with the Peace Light Inn at the intersection of Buford Avenue and the Mummasburg Road.

The real estate development at the foot of East Cemetery Hill has been planned but no construction has been started.

A parcel of the original McMillan tract on West Confederate Avenue has been sold, and under the terms of a previous agreement, we were requested to open the access road from the Avenue. Construction of a house is planned on this parcel of land.

The Commissioners of Adams County have selected a site on the first day's Battlefield for the construction of a new County jail. This will be located on the County Poor Farm on land which was defended by the 11th Corps on the afternoon of the 1st day of the Battle.⁵⁷

In view of the continuing budgetary restraints of the postwar period, however, the Park Service was not able to mount a campaign against such encroachments.

Park Vandalism

Vandalism became an increasingly serious problem for park management at Gettysburg for the first time during the postwar years. In July 1947 Superintendent Coleman reported that with only two park wardens it was impossible to maintain "nightly patrol of the park." As a result vandalism was increasing, several of the most recent incidents including removal of directional signs and theft of two scene viewers from the towers on Big Round Top and Little Round Top. Coleman observed in July 1948 that "we have had the usual amount of trouble from vandals destroying directional signs and creating ruts on the

57. Gettysburg National Military Park, "Annual Report, Gettysburg National Military Park and Fort Necessity National Battlefield Site, 1946," n.p.

roadside." Thefts during 1947-48 included a bronze sword from the Brigadier General William Wells statue and an outside exhibit from the Devil's Den area.⁵⁸

Park Personnel

During the war personnel levels in the park were reduced, but by fiscal years 1947-48 the number of persons on the payroll had returned to prewar levels. In 1947, for instance, the number of positions included:

- Superintendent (Park and Cemetery)
- Superintendent (Cemetery)
- Assistant Superintendent
- Historian
- Historical Aide
- Park Ranger-Historian (8 months out of year)
- Clerks (2)
- Clerk-Typist
- Foreman of Construction and Maintenance
- Park Wardens (2)
- Charwoman
- Laborers and Maintencemen (10 – Permanent)
- Laborers (18 – per hour – Seasonal)⁵⁹

The following year eight permanent laborers and maintenancemen and eight seasonal laborers were added to the park's labor force.⁶⁰

Park Road System

The park road system at Gettysburg was analyzed in June 1948 by Highway Engineer Elmer R. Hale, Jr., of the Public Roads Administration in Arlington, Virginia. Hale had been at Gettysburg during 1934-37, locating, designing, and supervising road work projects.

58. Gettysburg National Military Park, "Annual Report, Gettysburg National Military Park and Fort Necessity National Battlefield Site, 1947," p. 2, and *Ibid.*, 1948, n.p. During the years 1940-48 some 403 trunnion caps and other small pieces were removed from the cannons and their carriages in the park by visitors.

59. Gettysburg National Military Park, "Annual Report, Gettysburg National Military Park and Fort Necessity National Battlefield Site, 1947," p. 3.

60. Gettysburg National Military Park, "Annual Report, Gettysburg National Military Park and Fort Necessity National Battlefield Site, 1948," n.p.

According to his study, the existing road system in the park was an "intricate network of approximately 75 roads and avenues," about 60 of which were "maintained by the Government, 10 by the State, and the rest by local authorities." Hale went on to describe what an ideal road system for the park would be like and how the existing system differed from that ideal:

An ideal road system for this battlefield park would probably be one consisting of a main road starting and ending at the park headquarters, with a limited number of secondary loops and spurs. Such a main road should be a limited access road, with no private entrances and no connection to roads other than park roads. At Gettysburg, it might be possible to provide one main road as described above, but it would be very expensive to provide grade separations at all of the numerous crossings of the state roads, which radiate from Gettysburg like spokes of a wheel.

From a historical viewpoint, every effort should be made to preserve the battlefield as it was at the time of the battle. In general, this has been done. However, in one respect, this policy has not been adhered to, and that is in the layout of roads. A great mileage of roads, unnecessarily large, has been built in order that visitors to the battlefield might go over the ground and study the battlefield in great detail.

An ideal layout of roads would include only the roads that were in existence at the time of the battle. These roads, however, are now nearly all in use today as public roads and are not under park control. The principal historical roads are now the state highways, which, as already noted, radiate like spokes of a wheel. This arrangement does not lend itself to a loop tour around the battlefield. Furthermore, with the exception of the Emmitsburg Road, the historical roads were not used as battle lines. Therefore non-historical roads have been built to provide tours of the battlefield in order that the battle may be explained and studied.

With these points in mind Hale recommended a park road system "to best serve the battlefield." No new roads were proposed, and about one-third of the 28.41-mile system was recommended for removal.⁶¹

Many Park Service officials had strong reservations about the report's recommendations. One of those was Regional Historian Roy E. Appleman, who wrote on October 15, 1948:

On the general subject of eliminating roads in Gettysburg National Military Park, I believe the Service should proceed with extreme caution. The

61. Public Roads Administration, Arlington, Virginia, "Report on the Roads in the Gettysburg National Military Park," June 1948, pp. 1-6, Historical Files, MARO-CR.

initial building of these roads by the War Department cost considerable money, and they were built for a specific purpose; namely, of enabling visitors to reach all parts of the battlefield of any consequence. I think this was a legitimate objective. I do not think the Service should eliminate or discontinue any of these roads except for very strong reasons. Choosing a tour route which can be recommended to serve the needs of the average visitor does not mean at all that thousands of people will not wish to drive to other places not reached by the tour route. Unless there is clearly a duplication of roads, I would be opposed to the elimination of any of the present roads in the park. . . .⁶²

Park Concession Bus Tours

The idea of park concession bus tours at Gettysburg had been discussed by NPS management for some years. Finally, in June 1949 a concession permit was let to the Pitzer Bus Company of Gettysburg to conduct guided bus tours of the battlefield. The 2-3 hour tours were conducted by guides employed by the bus company in the morning and afternoon for six months. The franchise fee for the concession privilege was \$1 per passenger seat per year.⁶³

Operation of Cyclorama

Under the National Park Service the cyclorama was kept open to visitors during the war on a daily basis from April 1 to November 1 and on Sundays only from November 1 to April 1. Its hours of operation were 1:00 to 5:00 p.m. Annual receipts ranged between \$800 and \$900.⁶⁴

In accordance with the cooperative agreement signed on July 22, 1941 (and supplement dated February 21, 1942), the cyclorama was designated as a national historic object by Acting Secretary of the Interior Abe Fortas on October 5, 1944.⁶⁵ After this designation the National Park Service undertook a number of studies dealing with the repairs needed to stabilize and

62. Appleman to Acting Regional Director, October 15, 1948, Historical Files, MARO-CR.

63. Allen to the Director, May 11, 1949, and Allen to Superintendent, Gettysburg National Military Park, June 6, 1949, File No. 900, Gettysburg, RG 79, FRC, Philadelphia.

64. Gettysburg National Military Park, "Annual Report for Gettysburg National Military Park and Cemetery, Fiscal Year Ending June 30, 1944," p. 2.

65. Tolson to the Secretary, September 28, 1944, WASO Park Archives.

preserve the deteriorating cyclorama.⁶⁶ Wartime budget and personnel cutbacks, however, prevented the Park Service from carrying out the necessary improvements until after the war.

During 1947-48 Congress appropriated \$10,000 for cleaning and preservation of the cyclorama. The work was undertaken under contract by Richard Panzironi of New York after studies were conducted, including an examination of the painting by Carlo Ciampaglia, a known expert on mural paintings who gave technical information and details with regard to mounting, cleaning, and repairs. In August 1948 NPS Acting Director Arthur E. Demaray wrote, "We believe that, as a result of the cleaning and stabilization work, the preservation of the Cyclorama is now assured if funds to erect a modern building to house this important work of art became available reasonably soon."⁶⁷

GETTYSBURG NATIONAL CEMETERY

Cemetery Operations

The superintendency of Gettysburg National Cemetery was filled by five different men during the 1940s. On April 6, 1942, Clarence L. Nett, who had been cemetery superintendent since July 1934, was transferred to Antietam National Cemetery, exchanging places with Carl M. Taute, who had served as superintendent at Antietam since August 1934. Taute died on February 7, 1944, and on June 16, 1944, William H. Allison, who had served as a CCC supervisor at Gettysburg and was working as an historical technician at Fort McHenry, was transferred to Gettysburg. After the death of Allison on July 11, 1945, Alvin C. Baker was transferred on March 6, 1946, to Gettysburg from Natchez Trace Parkway. Baker served as cemetery superintendent until September 18, 1948, and was followed by Vernon S. Lunt (October 4, 1948-August 16, 1951).⁶⁸

The annual report of Superintendent Taute for fiscal year 1943 provides a detailed description of his responsibilities and cemetery operations that is representative of his efforts during the war years. He observed:

66. Burns to Regional Director, Region One, December 23, 1946, WASO Park Archives.

67. Demaray to Pickett, August 4, 1948, WASO Park Archives. Panzironi pasted horizontal strips of cloth on the back of the canvas and fastened them with vertical strips to the ceiling. He also patched holes in the canvas and cleaned the surface.

68. *Centennial Edition, National Park Service Officials, March 1, 1972*, p. 66, and Gettysburg National Military Park, "Annual Report for Gettysburg National Military Park and Cemetery, Fiscal Year Ending June 30, 1944," p. 2.

This cemetery, like other public areas, has been affected by decreased visitation and a curtailment of general activities induced by the present emergency. This is forcibly brought to attention by the large percentage of military personnel and small groups of local residents walking through the grounds. Commemorative events and services have been reduced to a minimum because of travel conditions and the war effort. . . .

Maintenance of the cemetery has been accomplished with the aid of a regular park employee who has been assigned to this area for the summer season. The major portion of the cemetery consists of lawn which has been kept closely mowed and weed free. There has been a daily clean-up of fallen branches, removal of debris left by visitors and disposal of leaves in the autumn. . . . The seasonal infestation of Japanese Beetles and Bagworm appeared in much greater quantity than last season but as yet are under control. The wooden extension to the original brick rostrum has been removed as a safety precaution. The structure was in bad condition and, therefore, was torn down and the ground underneath seeded with grass. . . .

The cemetery was made available for services⁶⁹ on November 21, 1943 commemorating the 79th anniversary of President Lincoln's Gettysburg Address; May 30, 1943 for memorial services held by the United Spanish War Veterans; and May 31, 1943 for the Memorial Day exercises at which the Hon. Edward Martin, Governor of Pennsylvania was the principal speaker. Approximately 2,000 persons were in attendance on Memorial Day, exclusive of 600 Cadets of the Army Air Corps training detachment.

The cemetery office has been the official reporting station for guide trips and the cemetery superintendent maintains these records. There were three interments during this fiscal period. In view of many errors and discrepancies in the cemetery burial records, the superintendent carried out a careful revision of these records and it is believed that they are in as good condition as it is possible to obtain.⁶⁹

The following year witnessed only two special ceremonies in the cemetery. According to Park Superintendent Coleman the normal four or five ceremonies were reduced to two because of wartime travel restrictions. One was a commemoration of the 80th anniversary of Lincoln's November 19th address sponsored by the local Sons of Union Veterans. Regarding the other ceremony Coleman stated:

The second event was the annual Memorial Day services. Because of the annual conference of governors being held in Harrisburg, Pennsylvania, and the proximity of Gettysburg, the Governor of Pennsylvania declared May 30, 1944, to be Governor's Day and arranged to bring his guests to Gettysburg for the May 30 exercises. The Governors of North Carolina and

69. Gettysburg National Military Park, "Annual Report for Gettysburg National Military Park and Cemetery, Fiscal Year Ending June 30, 1943," n.p.

Massachusetts spoke on this occasion and the ceremony was broadcast over a nation-wide radio hookup. There were an estimated 5,000 in attendance. . . . This was the largest crowd at any observance in Gettysburg since 1938, the 75th Anniversary of the Battle.

During fiscal year 1944 there were seven interments in the national cemetery. Several graves were filled in, and an entire section of gravestones in the World War I plot were realigned.⁷⁰

Enlargement of Cemetery

During the war there was public and political pressure to expand Gettysburg National Cemetery as well as other national cemeteries to accommodate burial of World War II casualties. In 1944 the National Park Service took the position that existing national cemeteries under its jurisdiction should not be expanded, "since any such increase would encroach upon the historic area of the national military park with which the cemetery is associated." Moreover, the Park Service felt that operation of such enlarged cemeteries "would not be a proper function" of the bureau.⁷¹

During the years 1945-48 the number of interments in the national cemetery at Gettysburg increased greatly as a result of World War II casualties. The number of interments rose from 12 in 1945 to 268 in 1948. In 1947 Superintendent Coleman observed that "at this rate the sections which have been officially designated for burial will be filled within two or three years and we believe that no additional section should be opened." The following year, however, he noted that a "total of 600 spaces have been requested in our schedule for burial."⁷²

70. Gettysburg National Military Park, "Annual Report for Gettysburg National Military Park and Cemetery, Fiscal Year Ending June 30, 1944," p. 3.

71. U.S. Department of the Interior, National Park Service, *Annual Report of the Director of the National Park Service for the Fiscal Year ended June 30, 1944*, pp. 212-13.

72. Gettysburg National Military Park, "Annual Report for Gettysburg National Military Park and Cemetery, Fiscal Year Ending June 30, 1945," n.p. Also see Gettysburg National Military Park, "Annual Reports for Gettysburg National Military Park and Fort Necessity National Battlefield Site," 1946, n.p.; 1947, p. 2; and 1948, n.p. In 1948 a contract was let to dig and backfill individual graves in the cemetery five feet deep. "Specifications for digging and backfilling graves in the Gettysburg National Cemetery," February 13, 1948, File No. A8, Gettysburg, CCF, RG 79.

During 1947-48 Congress, which came under increasing pressure to expand national cemeteries, took action that resulted in enlarging the size of Gettysburg National Cemetery by the addition of land that is now used as an overflow parking lot. On May 23, 1947, Pennsylvania Congressman Gross introduced legislation (H.R. 3645), authorizing exchange of private and federal properties between Gettysburg National Military Park and the Evergreen Cemetery Association. The stated purpose of the bill, which in effect straightened the line between the local and national cemeteries, was to authorize

the Secretary of the Interior to accept on behalf of the United States approximately 4 acres of non-Federal land within the boundaries of the Gettysburg National Military Park. . . . In exchange for the conveyance of this land, the bill proposes that the Secretary of the Interior be authorized to convey to the Evergreen Cemetery Association approximately 1¼ acres of federally owned land within the park.⁷³

With the backing of the Department of the Interior and the Bureau of the Budget, the bill quickly passed both houses of Congress and was signed into law by President Harry S Truman on January 31, 1948.⁷⁴

While the aforementioned legislation was under consideration by Congress, Representative Gross introduced a second bill (H.R. 4688) on December 10, 1947, that would authorize enlargement of the national cemetery. The bill received the endorsement of the Department of the Interior on March 17, 1948, in a letter signed by Under Secretary Oscar L. Chapman:

. . . The bill would authorize the acquisition and the addition to the national cemetery of approximately 5 acres of land. The bill would also authorize the appropriation of not to exceed \$10,000 to carry out the purpose of the proposed legislation.

In recent years, the space available for burials within Gettysburg National Cemetery has become very limited. There were 600 burial spaces available when the current reinterment program was authorized. However, those spaces were requested immediately by relatives of deceased soldiers, with the result that the national cemetery soon will be filled completely. . . . Acquisition of the additional property would make space available for approximately 2,000 burials.⁷⁵

73. U.S. Congress, Senate, Committee on Armed Services, *Relating to the Exchange of Certain Private and Federal Properties Within Gettysburg National Military Park, Pa.*, 80th Cong., 2d Sess. 1948, S. Rept. 844, pp. 1-2.

74. 62 Stat 16.

75. Chapman to Welch, March 17, 1948, in U.S. Congress, House, Committee on Public Lands, *Enlarging the Gettysburg National Cemetery*, 80th Cong., 2d Sess., 1948, H. Rept. 1875, p. 2.

After consideration the House Committee on Public Lands reported the bill, recommending passage based on the following rationale:

Gettysburg National Cemetery . . . is one of the Nation's most hallowed shrines. Originally reserved for burials of veterans of the War Between the States and their families, it was later opened to veterans of subsequent wars. Today, no space is available for the bodies of World War II veterans being returned from overseas under the current reinterment program. Additional space is badly needed. . . .

The only alternative to enlarging the Gettysburg National Cemetery would be to establish a new national cemetery in Pennsylvania to accommodate the World War II dead of that State. Such action would be far more costly to the Federal Government.⁷⁶

The bill quickly passed both houses of Congress and was signed into law by President Truman on June 19, 1948.⁷⁷

Designation of Dedication Day

A joint resolution passed by the 79th Congress and approved by President Harry S Truman designated November 19, 1946, the 83rd anniversary of Lincoln's Gettysburg Address, as Dedication Day. The occasion was observed at Gettysburg National Cemetery with special ceremonies under the auspices of the Lincoln Fellowship of Pennsylvania. Congressman Jennings Randolph of West Virginia delivered the principal address in the national cemetery. Superintendent Coleman observed in July 1947 that there were "indications that this date will become important in the calendar of Gettysburg events, in the future."⁷⁸

76. *Ibid.*, p. 1.

77. U.S. Congress, Senate, Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs, *Enlarging the Gettysburg National Cemetery*, 80th Cong. 1, 2d Sess., 1948, S. Rept. 1494, pp. 1-2, and 62 Stat. 502.

78. Gettysburg National Military Park, "Annual Report, Gettysburg National Military Park and Fort Necessity National Battlefield Site, 1947," p. 1; U.S. Congress, House, Committee on the Judiciary, *Dedication Day*, 79th Cong., 2d Sess., 1946, H. Rept. 2358, p. 1; and U.S. Congress, Senate, Committee on the Judiciary, *Dedication Day*, 79th Cong., 2d Sess., 1946, S. Rept. 1904, p. 1.

CHAPTER X:
ADMINISTRATION OF GETTYSBURG NATIONAL MILITARY PARK AND
CEMETERY UNDER THE NATIONAL PARK SERVICE DURING THE
1950s AND 1960s

INTRODUCTION

Administration and development of National Park Service areas, such as Gettysburg National Military Park and Cemetery, during the 1950s and 1960s were affected to a large extent by the bureau's Mission 66 program. Because of American response to world conditions in the postwar years funds for domestic programs, including the administration, operation, and maintenance of National Park Service areas, were so limited that it was often necessary to keep park programs, development and improvements at minimal levels. At the same time the National Park System was subjected to increased use by a public whose travel and vacation habits had undergone major changes during the postwar era. Accordingly, the Park Service found that many of its areas were understaffed with inadequate facilities and programs to meet the recreational demands of the American people.

Because of this realization NPS Director Conrad L. Wirth launched the Mission 66 program in January 1956. The 10-year program was intended to develop and staff its areas to permit their wisest possible use, maximum enjoyment for those who visited them, and maximum protection of the scenic and historic resources that gave them distinction. The ambitious ten-year program was designed to improve the parks in the National Park System to meet the requirements of an expected 80,000,000 visitors by 1966 – the 50th anniversary of the establishment of the National Park Service.¹

The ten-year Mission 66 program at Gettysburg resulted in a number of developments and improvements that would affect administration of the park and cemetery. These included resurfacing of park avenues, repair of the cyclorama painting, construction of a new visitor center-cyclorama complex with space for park offices, new field exhibits and pullouts on the park's auto tour route, a new High Water Mark walking tour, and a new vehicle bridge over

1. U.S. Department of the Interior, National Park Service, "Mission 66: To Provide Adequate Protection and Development of the National Park System for Human Use," (Washington, 1956), pp. 1-17.

the Railroad Cut. Coupled with the Mission 66 program at Gettysburg was a desire to have facilities as complete as possible by the Civil War Centennial.²

As the National Park Service approached the final years of the Mission 66 program, Secretary of the Interior Stewart L. Udall issued a set of principles to guide management of historical, natural, and recreational areas in the National Park System. The principles for historical areas, which were issued on July 10, 1964, read:

Resource Management: Management shall be directed toward maintaining and where necessary restoring the historical integrity of structures, sites and objects significant to the commemoration or illustration of the historical story.

Resource Use: Visitor uses shall be those which seek fulfillment in authentic presentations of historic structures, objects and sites, and memorialization of historic individuals or events. Visitor use of significant natural resources should be encouraged when such use can be accommodated without detriment to historical values.

Physical Developments: Physical developments shall be those necessary for achieving the management and use objectives.

During the next four years the Park Service developed administrative policies toward the realization of these objectives.³

PARK ADMINISTRATION

During the 1950s and 1960s Gettysburg National Military Park had four superintendents. J. Walter Coleman, who had begun service as park superintendent on February 1, 1941, continued in that office until July 1, 1958, when he was transferred to the Washington Office as a staff historian.⁴ James B. Myers, who had served as superintendent of Manassas National Battlefield Park, Virginia, in 1948-55 and of House of Franklin D. Roosevelt and Vanderbilt Mansion National Historic Sites, New York, in 1955-58, became

2. Chief Historian to Associate Regional Director, Professional Services, Mid-Atlantic Region, September 22, 1976, p. 7, Division Files, MARO-CR.

3. Secretary of the Interior to Director, National Park Service, July 10, 1964, Appendix A, U.S. Department of the Interior, National Park Service, *Compilation of the Administrative Policies For the Historical Areas of the National Park System [Revised September 1968]* (Washington, 1968), pp. 72-76. Also see John Ise, *Our National Park Policy: A Critical History* (Baltimore, 1961).

4. Prior to leaving Gettysburg Coleman prepared a paper entitled "Reminiscence of a Gettysburg Superintendent," a copy of which may be found in the WASO Park Archives.

superintendent at Gettysburg on July 1, 1958. Myers remained at Gettysburg until March 2, 1963, when Kittridge A. Wing was transferred to that position. Prior to serving at Gettysburg Wing had been superintendent at Fort Union National Monument, New Mexico, during 1955-58, and at San Juan National Historic Site, Puerto Rico, in 1959-60, and assistant superintendent at Shenandoah National Park, Virginia, in 1962-63. Wing, who was a graduate of Harvard and had taken advanced study at the University of Arizona, served at Gettysburg until January 16, 1966, when George F. Emery replaced him. Emery, who remained at Gettysburg until November 28, 1970, had served in previous superintendencies at Andrew Johnson National Historic Site, Tennessee, in 1942, and Petersburg National Battlefield, Virginia, in 1946-52.

Gettysburg National Cemetery continued to have a separate superintendent until April 14, 1954, when its administration was placed under the direct responsibility of the park superintendent. Vernon S. Lunt, who had become cemetery superintendent in October 1948, served in that capacity until August 16, 1951, when John C. W. Riddle replaced him. Riddle remained as cemetery superintendent until April 1954.⁵

Volume I, Chapter 3, of the *Master Plan for the Preservation and Use of Gettysburg National Military Park* provides a park organization brief as of November 30, 1960. Park operations were divided into four divisions – Administrative Services, Ranger Activities, Interpretation, and Maintenance – under the Office of the Superintendent. The park staff consisted of 24 permanent and 13 seasonal positions.

The function of the Office of the Superintendent was to direct all park operations and perform the park's administrative services. The superintendent's tasks were planning, direction, supervision, coordination, and evaluation of all park staff activities involving training, personnel, fiscal, and property management, licensing and supervision of battlefield guides, operation and maintenance of park facilities, protection of park resources, public services, and minor construction work. The superintendent participated in the park's long-range management and development planning, programming, and supervision of construction projects. The superintendent was aided by an assistant superintendent, and his office which included one secretary was located in the park visitor center.

5. Centennial Edition, *National Park Service Officials*, March 1, 1972, pp. 34, 62, 66, 73, 82, 93, 100, and *Gettysburg Times*, April 2, 1963, Gettysburg Newspaper Clippings, 1962-1963, GNMP Library. The author of this study conducted telephone interviews with Kittridge A. Wing, now a resident of Santa Fe, New Mexico, and George F. Emery, now a resident of Chambersburg, Pennsylvania, on November 14, 1985. A follow-up telephone interview with Emery was conducted on January 10, 1986. An employees' union at Gettysburg exerted significant influence on park administration during the late 1960s and early 1970s and reportedly effected Emery's transfer to the Washington Office in November 1970.

The Administrative Services Division performed "the common administrative services, in accordance with established policies, procedures and standards for and in the interest of the entire Park organization." The division consisted of an administrative assistant and a clerk-stenographer.

The Ranger Activities Division functioned to "protect the Park's resources, facilities, and the welfare of its visitors and to assist in Park interpretation." The Supervisory Park Ranger directed and coordinated the activities of the two permanent park rangers on the staff. The rangers were headquartered in the Visitor Center [In 1960 the Visitor Center was in the Gettysburg post office.] and manned stations in the national cemetery lodge and park entrance stations on U.S. Route 15 South and U.S. Route 30 West.

The Interpretation Division functioned to "determine, assemble, present, and preserve facts about the Park, its resources, and its interpretive themes so as to guide the protection of Park resources and to enrich the visitor's park experience." The Supervisory Park Historian directed and coordinated the work of the division which consisted of two permanent park historians and three ranger historians. During warmer months the division manned selected interpretive points within the park.

The Maintenance Division functioned to "operate and maintain the Park's physical plant in a manner contributing to the preservation of the Park's resources, the efficient functioning of the Park staff and the welfare of the Park's visitors." The maintenance supervisor directed and coordinated the work of the division, which consisted of the following permanent positions: three skilled craftsmen, two equipment operators, three maintenance men, one caretaker, and three laborers. A seasonal staff of ten laborers was employed during the warmer months to handle the increased workload of the division, principally in grounds maintenance. Major construction and repair projects were performed by contract or hire.⁶

6. U.S. Department of the Interior, National Park Service, *Master Plan for the Preservation and Use of Gettysburg National Military Park*, Chapter 3, Park Organization Brief, November 30, 1960, pp. 1-11. Data relative to the operation of the park from the mid-1950s to the early 1980s were provided the author during personal interviews with Harry W. Pfanz, park historian from 1955-66 and now a resident of Rockville, Maryland, on March 18, 1985, and Thomas Harrison, park historian and chief of the interpretive and cultural resources divisions from 1966-84 and now a resident of Hanover, Pennsylvania, on October 23, 1985.

By August 1958 an early version of the Mission 66 development program for Gettysburg had been approved with cost estimates in excess of \$1,000,000. The program, as outlined in the *Gettysburg Times* on August 7, 1958, included:

Programmed for early completion under Mission 66 are a new building for the Cyclorama and a visitor center. The Cyclorama will be located near the center of the park, adjacent to the field of Pickett's Charge, where it will be easily accessible. Exact location of the visitor center is yet to be determined. From the visitor center, after proper orientation, visitors may be directed on a tour of the park by themselves or, in some cases, personnel may be provided to accompany them. A new system of outdoor exhibits, designed with modern techniques, will explain the battle much more clearly.

No major additions to the existing road and trail system are contemplated, except for those needed to provide access to the Cyclorama and visitor center. Minor realignments will be made in a few areas to facilitate bus traffic, and several of the more hazardous conditions by reason of width and contour will be corrected. Several roads will be resurfaced, needed sidewalks and curbs will be constructed, and new directional signs and roadside interpretative markers installed.

The agricultural use of some 1,100 acres of the park, leased for such use as a means of maintaining character of the land as it was at the time of the battle, will be continued. In some instances, woodlands will be declared [sic] to open up vistas, and in a few cases the growth of trees and orchards will be encouraged to enhance the authenticity of the historic scene.

The existing park staff was to be expanded to provide better interpretive, protection, and maintenance services.⁷

CONSTRUCTION OF NEW VISITOR CENTER

During the late 1940s and early 1950s consideration of a new park visitor center-administration building, with facilities for a museum and display of the cyclorama, was held in abeyance by lack of funds. When funding for such a complex was scheduled to begin

7. *Gettysburg Times*, August 7, 1958, Gettysburg Newspaper Clippings, 1958-1961, GNMP Library. As part of the Mission 66 program new wayside exhibits were installed.

in fiscal year 1958 as a result of the NPS Mission 66 program, Park Service planning efforts resumed in 1955-56 after a nearly ten-year hiatus.⁸

In November 1956 Frederick Tilberg prepared a "museum prospectus," similar to the one he had written in 1947. The new prospectus proposed a visitor center building that would house the cyclorama, museum, administrative offices, and library, as well as an auditorium for orientation films and lectures, and comfort facilities. While he considered four sites for the building, he reiterated the earlier decision that the site considered best suited to serve the various purposes of the Visitor Center was "the location between Zeigler's Grove and the Emmitsburg Road." The prospectus provided for a museum that would be divided into two sections – Gettysburg and Civil War. The proposed Gettysburg section would have thirty museum exhibits and the cyclorama, while the proposed Civil War section would have forty-five exhibits under the following topics: The War, National and International Affairs, Manpower in the Union and Confederacy, Weapons and Uniforms, Organization and Tactics, Campaign Logistics, and Health and Morale. In addition twelve wayside exhibits were proposed for the battlefield itself. The total cost of the new visitor center, exhibits, and facilities was estimated to be \$944,000.⁹

For the next several years the visitor center proposal was discussed and refined in various studies and reviews by park, regional, and Washington Office personnel, preparatory to letting construction contracts.¹⁰ Although some NPS personnel opposed the location of the proposed visitor center in Zeigler's Grove because this would place modern construction in the middle of some of the battlefield's most significant terrain, NPS Director Conrad L. Wirth determined that the building should be constructed in that historic spot. During the spring and summer of 1959 construction documents for the new visitor center, which by then was estimated to cost \$1,500,000, were developed by NPS personnel. Bids for the structure were opened in September, and contracts were awarded in October. The architectural firm of Neutra and Alexander of Los Angeles, California, was chosen to design the structure, and the general contractor was The Orndorff Construction Company, Inc., of New Cumberland,

8. See, for instance, Appleman to Chief Historian, June 13, 1956, and Acting Regional Director to Chief, Eastern Office, Division of Design and Construction, September 10, 1956, WASO Park Archives.

9. Frederick Tilberg, "Museum Prospectus, Gettysburg National Military Park and Cemetery," November 27, 1956, Vertical Files, Visitor Center(s) Prospectus, 1940-1960's, CNMP Library.

10. See, for instance, Director to Regional Director, Region Five, April 15, 1957; Acting Superintendent, Gettysburg NMP, to Regional Director, Region Five, November 20, 1957, and Chief, Division of Interpretation to Regional Director, Region Five, November 18, 1959; WASO Park Archives. In September 1958 a prospectus for the exhibition and interpretation of the Gettysburg cyclorama was developed by NPS Museum Specialist Harold L. Peterson.

Pennsylvania. Steps were taken in 1960 to have the cyclorama restored under the direction of Walter J. Nitkiewicz, a Park Service restoration professional who specialized in paintings conservation, before being installed in its new air-conditioned and humidity-controlled quarters.¹¹

The new Visitor Center was designed to be a multi-level, plain and ribbed reinforced concrete structure with the lower level built of native stone. Construction of the facility was begun in early 1960, and the structure was ready for public usage in March 1962. In that month a Park Service press release stated:

A National Park Service Mission 66 project, the building has been under construction since 1960 and is the Park's first visitor facility in its 67 year history. It will be formally dedicated later this year.

The Visitor Center includes several features designed to make visits to the Park more meaningful. Among these is a 200 seat auditorium in which a 16 minute slide orientation program will be shown and an exhibit room housing 30 exhibits including four dioramas - The exhibits contain many relics and photographs and are designed to tell the story of the battle and Lincoln's Gettysburg Address. There will be no admission fee to the auditorium and exhibit room.

Foremost exhibit of all is the Gettysburg Cyclorama. . . . Acquired by the United States in 1942 and under repair since 1960, it will be ready for public viewing early in the summer. It will be presented with a 15 minute stereophonic sound program. . . .

In addition to its exhibits the Visitor Center will house an information desk, a room for licensed battlefield guides, and the Park's administrative offices. It will be topped by a viewing deck overlooking much of the battlefield.¹²

The Visitor Center-Cyclorama Building, as the structure came to be known, was dedicated on November 19, 1962, in ceremonies jointly sponsored by the Lincoln Fellowship

11. *Gettysburg Times*, September 30, December 18, 1959, Newspaper Clippings [1929-1963], GNMP Library.

12. Gettysburg National Military Park, "Gettysburg National Military Park Visitor Center To Be Opened," For Release, March 15, 1962, Tilberg Files, GNMP News Releases - Dogwood & Red Bud Trees, GNMP Library. Also see Hugh Scott, "New House at Gettysburg," *Philadelphia Inquirer Magazine*, July 1, 1962, pp. 9, 12, for a description of the structure's design features. A Metro-Goldwyn-Mayer film, entitled "The Battle of Gettysburg," was also shown in the new visitor center. Tolson to Melniker, November 24, 1959, WASO Park Archives. A new avenue was opened connecting Hancock Avenue with the Emmitsburg Road. The northern half of Ziegler's Grove was graded for a new parking area. The development of a new access to this parking area from Taneytown Road eliminated the historic Hancock Avenue gateposts and the terminus nearly opposite the cemetery gates. The Visitor Center also prompted the removal of the 1895 Ziegler's Grove observation tower.

of Pennsylvania and the National Park Service. Master of Ceremonies for the occasion was Ronald F. Lee, Regional Director, Northeast Region. Speakers on the program included Pennsylvania Lieutenant Governor John M. Davis, Superintendent Myers, Chester Shriver, president, Lincoln Fellowship of Pennsylvania, and local Congressman George A. Goodling. The dedicatory address was given by NPS Director Wirth.¹³

With funds provided by the Daughters of Union Veterans of the Civil War, 1861-1865, a memorial carillon was installed in the Visitor Center building in 1965. The carillon was dedicated on April 10, 1965, with special ceremonies sponsored by the Daughters of Union Veterans.¹⁴

PARK MASTER PLAN, MISSION 66 EDITION

During the years 1960-63 the Park Service prepared a *Master Plan For The Preservation and Use of Gettysburg National Military Park, Mission 66 Edition*.¹⁵ The master plan was prepared and approved in sections preparatory for the observance of the battle's centennial in 1963.

Volume I of the master plan was prepared by Park Historian Harry W. Pfanz in June 1960 and approved by the Washington Office in April 1961. In a chapter on objectives and policies of the park, the plan described the significant resources and values of the battlefield and NPS preservation and use policies designed to enhance and interpret those resources and values. The plan described the park's significant resources and values:

Gettysburg National Military Park's most *significant resources* are the land on which the battle of Gettysburg was fought and the Gettysburg National Cemetery, site of President Abraham Lincoln's immortal Gettysburg Address.

Much of the main battle area is within the authorized boundaries of the Park. There can be no greater source of interest and inspiration; there can be no better memorial to those that fought here, than the unspoiled battlefield itself.

13. "Dedication Program, Visitor Center Cyclorama, Gettysburg National Military Park, Gettysburg, Pennsylvania, Monday, November 19, 1962," Vertical Files, Cyclorama Center, NPS: GNMP, GNMP Library.

14. "Daughters of Union Veterans of the Civil War, 1861-1865, Dedication of Memorial Carillon, Visitor Center Auditorium, Gettysburg National Military Park, Gettysburg, Pennsylvania, Saturday, April 10, 1965, 2:00 P.M.," Vertical Files, Cyclorama Bldg. Proposal 1955, GNMP Library.

15. In 1950 the park master plan prepared in 1941 had been revised and updated. Regional Historian to Superintendent, Gettysburg National Military Park, July 24, 1950, Historical Files, MARO-CR.

The National Cemetery is a place of formal quiet beauty near the center of the battlefield.

A less significant but important feature of the Park is its monumentation. Probably no other area in the world is so generously endowed with memorials to a single great event, and few battle areas contain tributes to both the victors and the vanquished. Some of Gettysburg's monuments are genuine works of art, others merely commemorative stones, but each in itself is an interpretive device and all are reminders of the greatness of the American heritage.

A primary mission of Gettysburg National Military Park is to assist the visitor to convert the Park's resources, the battlefield and its monuments and the National Cemetery, into meaningful concepts. . . . That the visitor may appreciate the events which occurred here; that he may be inspired by them and depart with a deeper awareness of the American heritage is the justification for the existence of this Park.

Turning to the preservation and use policies that would guide the Park Service in administering, developing, and interpreting the park, the plan stated:

. . . If the battlefield is to be preserved and interpreted, the Park must continue its efforts to acquire such battlefield areas as are authorized by the Act establishing this Park. . . .

Park development must keep abreast of . . . increased visitation. Additional parking or pull off areas will be needed to accommodate cars at numerous interpretive points on the battlefield. Additional drinking fountains and restroom facilities must be provided. However, such developments must be made with care, over-development avoided, and unnecessary service facilities eliminated.

The battle of Gettysburg and President Lincoln's Gettysburg Address will continue to be the principal interpretive themes of this Park. The Visitor Center will be the main point of visitor reception and orientation and the starting point for self-guided tours. In it the interpretive themes will be presented through an audio-visual program, exhibits, and the Cyclorama painting. . . . Visitor Center interpretation will be supplemented by field interpretation through interpretive devices located at selected points throughout the Park. Needed field interpretive development, like public service development, must be done with restraint and over development avoided. Interpretive devices and practices must be periodically reviewed and altered to conform with the needs of the time.¹⁶

16. *Master Plan For the Preservation and Use of Gettysburg National Military Park, Mission 66 Edition, Chapter 1, Objectives and Policies*, by Harry W. Pfanz, April 27, 1961, pp. 1-8.

GETTYSBURG CENTENNIAL COMMEMORATION

Aside from the Mission 66 program, the principal event at Gettysburg during the 1950s and 1960s was the centennial commemoration of the battle and the Gettysburg Address. In Pennsylvania the decision to establish a commonwealth commission to plan and execute a program to observe the 100th anniversaries of the Battle of Gettysburg and Lincoln's Gettysburg Address preceded the creation of a national Civil War Centennial Commission. On April 20, 1956, Governor George M. Leader signed into law a bill establishing "The One-Hundredth Anniversary of the Battle of Gettysburg and Lincoln's Gettysburg Address Commission." The nine-person Gettysburg Centennial Commission, as it came to be popularly called, was charged with planning and coordinating the centennial for those two events. After several reorganizations in the composition and leadership of the commission, Lieutenant General Milton G. Baker (Ret.) became chairman and Lieutenant General Edward J. Stackpole (Ret.) vice chairman.¹⁷

The role of the federal government in the Civil War Centennial observances was defined by Public Law 85-305 (71 Stat. 626). The joint resolution passed by Congress on September 7, 1957, authorized establishment of the National Civil War Centennial Commission to prepare a general program for commemorating the one-hundredth anniversary of the Civil War, supervise federal participation in centennial events, and designate special committees for the purpose of cooperating with state and local committees in sponsoring such activities.¹⁸

The theme of the three-day commemoration of the Battle of Gettysburg, July 1-3, 1963, as determined by the commission in cooperation with the National Park Service, was "A Nation United." On July 1 afternoon ceremonies were held at the Eternal Light Peace Memorial under the theme "Our Heritage." Highlights of the ceremonies included:

Posting of the flags of States whose men fought at Gettysburg.

Address of Welcome by the Honorable William W. Scranton, Governor of the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania.

17. Commonwealth of Pennsylvania, *Gettysburg – 1963: An Account of the Centennial Commemoration, Report of the Commission to the General Assembly, Compiled and Edited by Louis M. Simon (Executive Secretary to the Commission), The One Hundredth Anniversary of the Battle of Gettysburg and Lincoln's Gettysburg Address Commission* (Harrisburg, 1964).

18. Assistant Secretary of the Interior to Representative Emmanuel Celler, May 21, 1963, WASO Park Archives.

Mass tribute to men who died at Gettysburg, led by State Governors and their representatives.

Dedication of first day's issue, Gettysburg commemorative stamp, by the Honorable J. Edward Day, Postmaster General.

Presentation of battlefield land deeds by Pennsylvania Commandery of the Military Order of the Loyal Legion and the Gettysburg Battlefield Preservation Association.

Dedication of a "torch of peace."

Featured on July 2 was a two-hour pageant parade in Gettysburg, representing the elements of United States military history. The theme of the parade was "Strength Through Unity," and Major General Henry K. Fluck, commander of the 28th Infantry Division of the Pennsylvania National Guard, served as grand marshal. The historical section included more than 1,500 participants in traditional Blue and Gray from the Sons of Union Veterans, Confederate High Command, re-activated Civil War units, and the North-South Skirmishers Association. Some 5,000 members of the armed forces, together with modern military equipment, rounded out the military section of the parade. Bands from Illinois, New York, Maryland, Virginia, Pennsylvania, and North Carolina set the pace for the parade.

Pickett's Charge was memorialized on July 3 under the theme "Reunion at the High Water Mark." George Gordon Meade III and Robert E. Lee IV, grandsons of the generals who commanded the opposing armies at Gettysburg, participated in the dramatization. Some 500 men in Gray from various Civil War groups crossed the field to the "Bloody Angle of the Stone Wall" where 500 men in Blue joined them "in brotherhood and amity to pledge their devotion to the symbol of their common unity – the Stars and Stripes!"

A variety of other activities was included in the three-day anniversary program. A series of "poignant episodes" associated with battle folklore were staged each morning near the spots where they were supposed to have occurred. Each evening at sunset the National Park Service conducted a "campfire program" in the partially-completed amphitheater in Pitzer's Woods on West Confederate Avenue, featuring the 30-minute MGM color film, "The Battle of Gettysburg."¹⁹ Various states held ceremonies at their memorials, the most notable being dedication of the South Carolina monument by Alabama Governor George C. Wallace.

19. Because the new amphitheater was not completed the "campfire programs" were conducted without a campfire. The programs, which continued on a nightly basis until Labor Day, included approximately fifteen minutes of recorded music, followed by a fifteen-minute talk on "The Civil War Soldier" given by park ranger historians. The programs concluded with the showing of the film, "The Battle of Gettysburg." Supervisory Historian to Superintendent, July 22, 1963, Tilberg Files, Campfire Programs, 1960's, GNMP Library.

Special exhibits were on display at Gettysburg Joint Junior/Senior High School, the Western Maryland Railway Station, the park Visitor Center, and the U.S. Post Office Building. Preceding the commemoration on June 30 the Gettysburg Fire Company held its annual memorial program at the Gettysburg Athletic Field with former President Dwight D. Eisenhower as speaker. An attraction on July 2 was the presentation of the "Flag Story" by the Old Guard of the 1st Battle Group, 3rd Infantry, from Fort Myer, Virginia.²⁰

Congress designated November 19, 1963, as Gettysburg Address Centennial Day.²¹ To commemorate Lincoln's Gettysburg Address the Pennsylvania commission planned a re-enactment of the highlights of Lincoln's historic visit to Gettysburg on November 18-19. It began with the arrival of Lincoln on an authentic period train at the railway station where he actually arrived, followed by his trek to the Wills House, where he stayed overnight and perfected his speech, and the progress of his route to the national cemetery the next day. The commemoration ended with special ceremonies at the cemetery on November 19, featuring addresses by Governor William Scranton and former President Eisenhower and a recitation of Lincoln's Gettysburg Address on tape by Pennsylvania State Supreme Court Justice Michael A. Musmanno with background music provided by the U.S. Marine Band.²²

Largely as a result of the centennial commemoration visitation to Gettysburg in 1963 was the highest in the history of the park. Park Service estimates of visitation for the year were 2,041,378, the first time that the 2,000,000 mark had been passed. In July alone some 404,017 persons visited the park, the largest July total since the 75th anniversary of the battle in 1938.²³

PARK LAND ACQUISITION PROGRAM

During the 1950s and 1960s the National Park Service endeavored to implement a land acquisition program as a means of consolidating park lands and preventing development on

20. *Official Program . . . A Nation United on the 100th Anniversary of the Battle of Gettysburg, July 13, 1963*, Historical Files, MARO-CR; Biery to U.S. Department of the Interior, June 28, 1963, WASO Park Archives; "Gettysburg: 'The Task Remaining,'" *Newsweek*, LXII (July 15, 1963), 18-19; and George Kabusk, "Gettysburg Prepared for 100th Anniversary Commemoration," *Civil War Times Illustrated*, II (May, 1963), 20-21.

21. U.S. Congress, House, Committee on the Judiciary, *Gettysburg Address Day*, 88th Cong., 1st Sess., 1963, H. Rept. 833, p. 1.

22. Scranton to Hays, May 18, 1963, and Acting Superintendent, Gettysburg to Regional Director, Northeast Region (and enclosures) November 5, 1963, WASO Park Archives.

23. *Gettysburg Times*, January 3, 1964, Newspaper Clippings, 1963-1966, GNMP Library.

property adjacent to the park. In February 1953, for instance, the Park Service purchased a 23.8-acre parcel once part of the Rose Farm along the Emmitsburg Road for \$18,000. The property was the scene of some of the bloodiest fighting at Gettysburg on the afternoon of July 2.²⁴

One parcel acquired on the Second Day's Field in 1953-54 has a legislative history worth noting. In September 1952 Senator Edward Martin of Pennsylvania wrote to the National Park Service regarding the possibility of utilizing certain federal lands in Gettysburg National Military Park for construction of a new secondary school. The land in question was a 20-acre parcel between East Confederate Avenue and Wainwright Avenue adjacent to the existing high school. NPS Director Conrad L. Wirth responded on October 26, 1952, that while such a permit was not customary, "we feel that this case is worthy of special consideration." Since there was "need for acquisition by the Federal Government of certain historic properties, now privately owned, in the battlefield area," Wirth urged Senator Martin to sponsor legislation that would provide for sale of the desired federal land to the local school district at a price to be determined by appraisers, the proceeds to be used by the National Park Service to purchase privately-owned property for inclusion in the park.²⁵

Accordingly, on January 26, 1953, Senator Martin introduced a bill (S.630) "to authorize the conveyance for public-school purposes of certain Federal land in Gettysburg National Military Park, and for other purposes."²⁶ A similar bill (H.R. 2144) was introduced in the House by Representative Simon W. Stauffer on the same day, but S.630 became the bill to be considered by Congress. The bill was referred to the Senate Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs, and in response to a request by the committee's chairman Hugh Butler of Nebraska the Bureau of the Budget submitted its views on the bill on April 8:

This legislation would permit the sale of certain Federal land in Gettysburg National Military Park to the State of Pennsylvania or an appropriate local agency for public-school purposes and would authorize the deposit of the funds from this sale in a special receipt account for use by the Secretary of the Interior in acquiring other land for that park. It is understood that the land to be sold has less historical significance than certain other property which would be acquired with the funds realized from the sale.

24. Department of the Interior (Information Service), National Park Service, News Release, Important Property Acquired at Gettysburg Battlefield, February 18, 1953, WASO Park Archives.

25. Wirth to Martin, October 26, 1952, WASO Park Archives.

26. 83d Cong., 1st Sess., S. 630, January 26, 1953, WASO Park Archives.

It is considered that the purposes of this legislation could be better accomplished by authority to exchange Federal and non-Federal lands of approximately equal value. It is understood, however, that the local school board feels it does not have authority to acquire land for exchange purposes. If there is in fact no way of arranging an equal exchange to accomplish the purpose of this legislation, it is considered that in the interest of sound budget policy all funds from the sale should be deposited in the Treasury as miscellaneous receipts. In this case the need for Federal funds for acquisition of any additional land for the park would then be considered in the normal budget and appropriation process.²⁷

Later on June 2, Assistant Secretary of the Interior Orne Lewis informed Butler that the department recommended passage of S.630 subject to an amendment providing for conveyance of the federal property for public-school purposes "in exchange for non-Federal land of approximately equal value, which land, upon acceptance by the United States, shall become a part of Gettysburg National Military Park."²⁸

The amended bill was considered and approved by the Senate and House Committees on Interior and Insular Affairs on June 26 and July 14, 1953, respectively.²⁹ The bill was passed by both houses of Congress and approved by President Dwight D. Eisenhower on July 31, 1953.³⁰

After lengthy negotiations in 1953-54 the land exchange was implemented. As a result the National Park Service received a 29-acre parcel of land formerly owned by Luther I. Sachs at the base of Culp's Hill and East Cemetery Hill, key objectives of the Confederate attack of July 2. For its part the Gettysburg school district was able to build Keefauver Elementary School (1950s), a new senior high school (1970s), and new playing fields (1970s and 1980s) on land over which Confederates of Early's division attacked to reach East Cemetery Hill and which had been included within the limits of the park by the Establishing Act.³¹

27. Dodge to Butler, April 8, 1953, WASO Park Archives.

28. Lewis to Butler, June 2, 1953, WASO Park Archives.

29. U.S. Congress, Senate, Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs, *To Authorize the Conveyance for Public-School Purposes of Certain Federal Land in Gettysburg National Military Park*, 83d Cong., 1st Sess., 1953, S. Rept., 470, pp. 1-3, and U.S. Congress, House, Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs, *Authorizing the Conveyance for Public-School Purposes of Certain Federal Land in Gettysburg National Military Park*, 83d Cong., 1st Sess., 1953, H. Rept. 783, pp. 1-3.

30. 67 Stat. 243.

31. Allen to Martin (and enclosures), October 27, 1953, and Kahler to Lands Division, October 29, 1953, WASO Park Archives.

In March 1955 Park Service officials identified eleven major in-holdings at Gettysburg as having top priority in terms of acquisition. The cost of these lands was estimated at \$1,054,350.³² The necessary funds for acquisition, however, were not forthcoming from Congress. In December 1955, for instance, Secretary of the Interior Douglas McKay informed Congressman Stuyvesant Wainwright:

It has been a National Park Service objective for more than 10 years to complete the acquisition of the few remaining private holdings in this area in order to consolidate park lands and to preclude nonconforming uses adverse to successful historical interpretation and administration of the park. The increased visitation to this most heavily visited of the 11 national military parks in the National Park System makes it necessary to acquire as soon as possible certain historic tracts especially adaptable for real estate subdivision or other commercial exploitation. . . .³³

Later in April 1957, in answer to questions about the probability of significant historical acreages north of the Mummasburg Road falling into the hands of real estate developers, Acting NPS Director Hillory A. Tolson informed Senator John F. Kennedy:

. . . that the lands in question are, in our opinion, of great historical importance and that we believe they should be included in the Park to insure preservation of this significant portion of the battle scene. The acquisition of these lands by the Federal Government is doubly important, we believe, because of the need for continuity in our program of interpretation of the battle.

We are fully aware of and concerned about the encroachment on the historical battlefield at Gettysburg. However, we have estimated that in excess of one million dollars would be required to halt this situation and no such funds are available. Moreover, even though we have endeavored to acquire certain various strategic parcels with the land acquisition funds available to us, the asking prices are so far out of line with appraised values we have been unable to negotiate successfully in these few instances.

You may be sure that this Service is doing everything it possibly can to acquire the properties to protect the Gettysburg Battlefield scene, but unless funds for land acquisition are provided we cannot proceed to acquire the tracts.³⁴

In 1958-59 various articles appeared in national periodicals such as *Parade*, *Holiday*, *American Forests*, and the *Saturday Evening Post* describing the serious problems involved in

32. Chief Historian to Director, March 24, 1955, WASO Park Archives.

33. Secretary of the Interior to Wainwright, December 22, 1955, WASO Park Archives.

34. Tolson to Kennedy, April 25, 1957, WASO Park Archives.

preserving historic lands constituting critical portions of the Gettysburg battlefield. One writer described the problem in the following terms:

In the course of your tour, don't overlook the scope or the damage of the new battle of Gettysburg, in which commercial development – motels, spreading subdivisions, souvenir stands, beer parlors, automobile graveyards – is advancing in strength against rather weak defense lines. The tragedy is that local interests in Gettysburg and national interests in Washington, which could do so much to preserve the battlefield boundaries from intrusion, have thus far done so little.

The reason for such encroachment? Of 3,400 acres designated as Gettysburg National Battlefield Park, nearly 700 are privately owned. When the park was established, these were farmlands and were expected to remain so forever. But population pressures, mobility, and Gettysburg's new suburbs have changed the perspective completely – and the lack of planning is now claiming its toll.³⁵

By January 1959 Park Service officials had approved a land acquisition plan for Gettysburg that called for the acquisition of 680 acres at an estimated \$2,500,000.³⁶ Responding to a request for data from Senator George Smathers of Florida on January 6, Assistant Secretary of the Interior Roger Ernst stated:

Pursuant to this legislation [establishing the Civil War Centennial Commission] and within the limits of yearly appropriations by the Congress for the purchase of privately owned lands within the boundaries of the areas comprising the National Park System, the National Park Service is programming the funds it may reasonably expect to obtain during the next four fiscal years so as to acquire the bulk of the needed lands for the preservation and development of the Gettysburg battlefield by the centennial date of the battle, July 1 to 3, 1963.³⁷

In March 1959 the House Appropriations Committee deleted Congressman James M. Quigley's proposal for a \$750,000 land acquisition program in Gettysburg for fiscal year 1960. Thereafter, Senator Joseph S. Clark of Pennsylvania began to gather support for his effort to get the Senate Appropriations Committee to approve the land acquisition package. A private

35. Michael Frome, "Historic Gettysburg," *American Forests*, LXV (October, 1959), 36, 82. Also see Ashley Halsey, Jr., and J.O. Buckeridge, "Let's Not Surrender Our Battlefields," *Saturday Evening Post*, CCXXVI (September 19, 1959), 40-41, 43, 72-73, 75, 77, 80.

36. The plan had been developed by park, regional, and Washington Office personnel in April 1958 and had received subsequent approval by the Washington Office. Superintendent, Gettysburg NMP to Regional Director, April 19, 1958, WASO Park Archives.

37. Assistant Secretary of the Interior to Smathers, January 6, 1959, and Assistant Secretary of the Interior to Assistant to the President, January 8, 1959, WASO Park Archives.

Committee to Save Gettysburg was formed through the auspices of various historical groups and *Parade* magazine to collect contributions to support the drive to preserve the battlefield. Major William Haller, commanding officer of the 19th Engineer Battalion at Fort Meade, Maryland, headed the drive, while Major General U.S. Grant III and Robert E. Lee IV served as its cochairmen.³⁸

As Congress continued to oppose funding for the Gettysburg land acquisition plan Congressman Quigley appealed to President Eisenhower in April 1959 to lend his "influence to make zoning of the Battlefield area a quick reality." According to his proposal Adams County should adopt zoning ordinances "as a means of keeping certain undeveloped lands in their present farm status, relieving the United States from the expense of purchasing them for protection and keeping them as taxable assets of the community." The zoning plan, however, would require an act of the Pennsylvania legislature and could realistically be put into effect only as a result of popular local appeal and some form of compensation for local property owners who would suffer from depreciation of land values.³⁹

During the spring of 1959 the appropriations measure for land acquisition at Gettysburg was considered by the Senate. That body voted approval of \$650,000 for land acquisition at the Gettysburg and Manassas battlefields. The measure then went to a conference committee representing both houses of Congress from which it emerged with a final figure of \$450,000 dependent upon local enactment of community zoning laws. Two other conditions were placed on the expenditure of the funds: the money could be spent only to buy battlefield lands already blighted by development and no part of the appropriation could be spent for federal acquisition of the Adams County Poor Farm, portions of which the county commissioners were planning to sell to development interests.⁴⁰

The National Park Service followed up with local government officials on the zoning feature of the measure with a view to satisfying the condition for use of the appropriated funds for acquisition of needed lands at both Gettysburg and Manassas. Cumberland Township formed a planning commission which met for the first time in June 1959, but it

38. Clark to Peterson, April 3, 1959, WASO Park Archives, and *The New Battle of Gettysburg Is Won!*, Tilberg Files, Gettysburg: Planning and Historic Preservation, GNMP Library.

39. "Speech Delivered in the House of Representatives by Congressman James M. Quigley (D. Penna.) . . . Monday, April 20, 1959;" Quigley to the President, April 22, 1959; and Bennett to Goodpaster, April 30, 1959; WASO Park Archives.

40. Halsey and Buckeridge, "Let's Not Surrender Our Battlefields," 75.

soon became clear that passage of a zoning regulation by the township faced increasing opposition. Despite continued efforts by the Park Service the regulation was never passed.⁴¹

As a result a group of Civil War students and enthusiasts attending the Second Annual Civil War Study Group at Gettysburg College, alarmed by the continuing problems facing land acquisition and battlefield preservation, formed the Gettysburg Battlefield Preservation Association, Inc., in November 1959 with the encouragement of the National Park Service and the Civil War Centennial Commission.⁴² In late 1959 the Gettysburg Battlefield Preservation Association, under the leadership of its president Major William M. Haller, issued a fact sheet as to its purposes, goals, and objectives. The fact sheet read in part:

To prevent non-government owned lands within Gettysburg's famed battlefield proper from disappearing in a welter of housing developments and commercial structures. In recent years, business and residential expansion has encroached heavily on important battleground areas, and the pace of expansion appears to be increasing. The only guarantee of preservation of hallowed areas is ownership. A total of 680 acres is needed now – as building expands eastward, lands must be acquired to preserve the cavalry battlefield, three miles east of Gettysburg. The current problem that is urgent is the protection of the main battlefield. . . .

Members of the Second Annual Civil War Study Group recognized the need for the association when it became apparent that privately-owned land, long considered important parts of the battlefield, was purchased by a development company to be sold for building lots, at the same time Adams County Commissioners decided to sell farm land owned by the county of the Poor Farm home site. . . .

The Gettysburg Battlefield Preservation Association is aware of zoning and other efforts being made to prevent the desecration of the battlefield, but holds to the belief that the only permanent solution is the immediate purchase of the land with or through privately donated funds.

The Gettysburg Battlefield Preservation Association will solicit funds on a nationwide basis. All private donations collected will be used to secure the additional land for the National Park Service. . . .⁴³

By February 1960 the National Park Service had developed a new land acquisition plan for Gettysburg for which it sought approval by the congressional appropriations

41. Manassas authorities passed an appropriate zoning ordinance, thus insuring that most of the appropriated funds were spent for land acquisition in that park. Bennett to Cannon, October 30, 1959, WASO Park Archives.

42. Haller to Seaton, November 14, 1959, and Ernst to Haller, November 30, 1959, WASO Park Archives.

43. Gettysburg Battlefield Preservation Association, Fact Sheet, [ca. late 1959], Historical Files, MARO-CR.

committees. On February 1960 Director Wirth testified before the Senate Subcommittee on the Department of the Interior and Related Agencies Appropriations that the Park Service had developed a plan that would provide for "a sound and logical approach" to the land acquisition problems at Gettysburg. According to Wirth the Park Service believed

that a logical approach to the land acquisition problem at Gettysburg would involve our obtaining authority to use Federally appropriated funds to purchase privately owned lands when they are entirely surrounded by Federal park lands. This authority to purchase privately owned lands should be free of any requirement that the park must be covered by an adequate zoning ordinance. Zoning alone will not accord privately owned lands, entirely surrounded by Federal park land, the protection they must have to preserve the historical battlefield scene adequately. Any developments on such privately owned lands, even if within the framework of a zoning ordinance, should be avoided. Federal ownership alone can impart the protection needed for such park-surrounded private lands. It is hoped that the zoning requirement will be lifted, or removed, insofar as privately owned lands of this type are concerned.

If the National Park Service obtains donated funds to match an equal or lesser amount of Federal appropriated land acquisition funds, it is urged that the zoning requirement be lifted, or removed, with respect to any privately owned lands urgently needed for park purposes and acquired with such matched funds. It would seem that where the Federal funds are matched by cooperating private individuals or groups there has been a sufficiently demonstrated interest in preserving critical parcels of privately owned land to justify their acquisition regardless of whether a zoning ordinance applies to the park area.

In all other cases, wherever Federal land acquisition funds are used to purchase lands in Gettysburg National Military Park, we are agreeable to the requirement that there must be an adequate zoning regulation before they are subject to acquisition with such Federal funds.

In terms of immediate land acquisition concerns at Gettysburg the Park Service, according to Wirth, desired funds and authority to purchase the 11-acre Wright property across from Meade's Headquarters and some 52 acres of the Adams County Poor Farm and accept donation of two tracts near Willoughby Run and six acres near the national cemetery. All told, about 700 acres (estimated at a cost of around \$2,600,000) were "needed for adequate completion of the park."⁴⁴

The Interior Appropriation bill for fiscal year 1961, passed on April 22, 1960, provided \$400,000 for land acquisition in Civil War areas. The legislation, however, again stipulated that no lands could be purchased at Gettysburg until a zoning ordinance considered adequate

44. Wirth to Hayden, February 18, 1960, and "Land Acquisition Plan, Gettysburg National Military Park, Pa.," WASO Park Archives.

by the Secretary of the Interior to preserve the historic character of the Gettysburg area had been adopted by local authorities.⁴⁵

While Park Service officials pondered the future of the land acquisition program at Gettysburg the Battlefield Preservation Association proceeded with its plans to purchase property for donation to the park. In May 1960 the organization made its first purchase – a 55-acre tract known as the Wolf Land lying between Devil's Den and Big Round Top and extending toward the Emmitsburg Road. This acquisition included most of the historic Snyder Farm.⁴⁶

The park master plan of March 1963 discussed NPS plans for future land acquisition at Gettysburg. At the time the park consisted of 2,871 acres and had plans to acquire an additional 570 acres. The plan stated:

Appropriated funds, slightly in excess of \$200,000, are available to purchase part of these lands. The private inholdings along both sides of U.S. Route 15 at the southern part of the Park have the highest priority on our land acquisition program. The majority of these inholdings are being used at the present time for residential purposes. However, there are two restaurants, two motels, and a general store. All of these cater to tourist business.

Those private holdings at the northern part of the Park on our acquisition program are as necessary for historical reasons as those above described. However, private property at the northern part of the Park is most acutely affected by restrictions placed by the Congress on land purchasing, in that they are not surrounded by Government property and, therefore, may not be purchased at this time. For these reasons these lands are lower on our acquisition list.⁴⁷

These plans would guide land acquisition policy at Gettysburg for the remainder of the decade.

45. Assistant Director to Regional Director, Region Five, September 13, 1960, and Seaton to Cannon, January 4, 1961, WASO Park Archives.

46. G. Henry Roth, "Historic Gettysburg," *Travel*, CXV (May, 1961), 34-36, and Gettysburg Battlefield Preservation Association, For Immediate Release, Friday, May 27, 1960, WASO Park Archives. Also see Richard L. Graves, "A Special Report On: The Fight to Preserve Gettysburg Battlefield," *Civil War Times*, II (April, 1960), 9-10. In June 1960 the National Park Service was successful in defeating a proposal to transfer land adjacent to Reynolds Avenue and Route 116 to the Department of the Army for use as an Army Reserve Training Center. Bennett to Price (and enclosures), June 8, 1960, WASO Park Archives.

47. *Master Plan for Preservation and Use of Gettysburg National Military Park*, Vol. III, Approved March 22, 1963, n.p.

PARK INTERPRETATION PROGRAM

The park's interpretive program as of 1951 was described in detail by Frederick Tilberg in the interpretation section of the park's master plan development outline. In his description Tilberg observed:

The first contact made by a large proportion of visitors is the private guide. Guides, who are licensed by the National Park Service, may be obtained on the main highways leading to Gettysburg or on the town square. The visitor may obtain information on the battlefield from guides or, if they choose, may employ a guide for a tour of the battlefield. A complete tour covering the field of the three days' battle requires a minimum of one and one-half hours and the guide fee is \$3.00 per car. A special tour designed to permit the visitor to see main points of interest, or a limited part of the battlefield, requires approximately one hour, and the fee is \$2.00. The guide fee for a bus tour is \$5.00. On the Chambersburg Road (U.S. Route 30) and the Emmitsburg Road (U.S. Route 15) guides operate from Park entrance stations, and on the Harrisburg Road (U.S. Route 15) from a guide station. On other highways and on the town square, they operate from the road side or street.

Tilberg went on to describe the function and facilities of the park interpretive center and visitor contact points. He noted:

The Park Service maintains a museum on the second floor of the Post Office building where the services of Park historians are available for orientation talks over a relief model of the battlefield. . . . The museum is open from 8:00 to 5:30 o'clock Monday through Friday. A library of Battle of Gettysburg and general Civil War books is available for the use of the visitor.

The most important Park interpretive contact point over the greater part of the year is the Cyclorama. . . . The Cyclorama is operated from March 1 to December 1, and the services of Park historians are available for explanation of the painting and for furnishing information concerning the battle, the battlefield or general travel and lodging needs.

An information booth sponsored by the Retail Merchants' Association of Gettysburg was placed on the town square last June and was operated about three months. The booth was attended by volunteers, mainly from the various women's organizations of Gettysburg. The venture has met with fine response and has served approximately 30,000 visitors in the three-month period of its operation.

Tilberg also described the park auto tour route that park officials planned to implement. The new 14-stop battlefield tour was designed to begin at the point on the first day's battlefield where the initial action occurred and to proceed from that point to other stops in the logical order of the occurrences of successive battles. He admitted, however, that

placing this tour route in actual operation was "contingent upon the relocation of the avenue at Devil's Den and widening the avenue for two-way traffic."

According to Tilberg tours of the battlefield guided by park historians were limited to military and school groups and to special visitors. Such tours averaged some 3½ hours.

Lectures or orientation talks by park historians were limited largely to the interpretation of the cyclorama and the explanation of the battle over the relief model map in the park museum. The lectures in the cyclorama were

given either in person or by recording continuously on Sundays and holidays when visitation is heavy, and on week-days to individuals and small parties as they arrive. The available space in the Cyclorama is sufficient to accommodate 200 persons, although for clear view of the subject matter in the painting, the size of a group should be limited to 75. . . .

Tilberg also described park publications, workshop facilities, the summer campfire program, and incidental interpretive facilities. Three publications were on sale at the park: *Gettysburg Handbook*, *Lincoln Source Book No. 2*, and *Artillery Through the Ages*. In addition, a two-fold park leaflet was distributed free of charge.

The park office had a library of 1,200 books relating to the Civil War, the Battle of Gettysburg, Lincoln at Gettysburg, and national park records. A work room was available for photographic work, and a printing machine for making blueprints and black line prints.

A series of campfire programs was held on East Cemetery Hill each summer on Sunday evenings in July and August. Sound and color motion pictures and color slides on national parks and historic sites and films on state historical, industrial, and scenic subjects generally constituted the programs. The programs, which drew an average of 200 people to each event, were patronized primarily by local people.⁴⁸

The handbook, entitled *Historical Handbook No. 9: Gettysburg National Military Park*, had been written by Tilberg in 1950. According to the *Annual Report of the Director of the National Park Service* in 1951 the handbooks in this series were "readable, accurate, and well-illustrated" and "handsome in outward appearance – first-rate examples of the sort of work performed by the Division of Typography and Design, Government Printing Office." The 52-page

48. Interpretive Section, Master Plan Development Outline, Approved August 26, 1952, WASO Park Archives. Also see Historian's Narrative Reports, January 1950-November 1953, GNMP Library, for more data on this subject.

handbook was placed on sale at the park and through the Superintendent of Documents for 20 cents.⁴⁹

The publication included a narrative history of the Gettysburg campaign and battle and its aftermath as well as a history of the park and cemetery. The booklet also contained a map and descriptions of historical significance for fourteen stops at which field exhibits could be examined on a self-guided automobile tour of the battlefield. The stops were:

- #1 McPherson Ridge
- #2 Oak Hill
- #3 Oak Ridge
- #4 Seminary Ridge
- #5 Warfield Ridge (Alabama Monument)
- #6 Devil's Den
- #7 Little Round Top
- #8 Cemetery Ridge (the Angle)
- #9 Meade's Headquarters
- #10 National Cemetery
- #11 Cyclorama of Pickett's Charge
- #12 East Cemetery Hill
- #13 Culp's Hill
- #14 Spangler's Spring⁵⁰

The handbook was revised and updated with the inclusion of new photographs, maps, and illustrations in subsequent years. The revised editions in 1954 and 1962 were both prepared by Tilberg.⁵¹

A series of new outdoor interpretive exhibits were placed at various points on the battlefield in 1957, replacing temporary wooden exhibits. The new exhibits were mounted in slanted aluminum cases and placed at the High Water Mark, Big Round Top, Devil's Den, the North Carolina Monument, and McPherson's Ridge. The exhibits, which were created by Sidney King, an artist from Center Point, Virginia, featured maps of the immediate vicinity

49. *Annual Report of the Director, National Park Service to the Secretary of the Interior, Reprinted from the Annual Report of the Secretary of the Interior For the Fiscal Year Ended June 30, 1951*, p. 333.

50. U.S. Department of the Interior, National Park Service, *Gettysburg National Military Park, National Park Service Historical Handbook Series, No. 9*, by Frederick Tilberg (Washington, D.C., 1950), pp. 45-52.

51. U.S. Department of the Interior, National Park Service, *Gettysburg National Military Park, Pennsylvania, National Park Service Historical Handbook Series No. 9* (Washington, D.C., 1954 [Revised 1962]).

with arrows indicating the spots where action occurred during the battle. A legend of the events and historic photograph of the landmarks was also included.⁵²

PARK RESEARCH PROGRAM

Throughout the 1950s and 1960s research was conducted in the park by staff historians. These included Frederick Tilberg, Harry W. Pfanz, and Thomas Harrison. During the early and mid-1950s most of the research was directed toward providing a data base for the park's master plan development outline, museum prospectus, and interpretation of the cyclorama painting. With the approach of the battle's centennial, Tilberg, however, prepared a research studies program proposal for the park in October 1958. The purpose of the program was designed "to provide reasonably complete data for information on all phases of the battle, of Park development and preservation, and of interpretation." The program, which served as a guide for park research studies between 1958 and 1963, included recommendations in the following subject categories: (1) logistics of the Gettysburg campaign; (2) contemporary Gettysburg and its history; (3) course of battle study positions; (4) development of Gettysburg National Military Park; (5) compendium of battle information and material; (6) contemporary farm buildings, land, and ownership; (7) roster of officers and privates in the Union and Confederate armies; (8) military strategies and tactics; and (9) history of the cyclorama painting.⁵³

An assessment of the park research program in March 1963 found that research on general topics of historical inquiry had been covered while that on eight subjects was still inadequate for park needs. The principal topics that still required further research included:

The Second Day's Fighting at Gettysburg.
Cavalry Action of the Gettysburg Campaign.
Logistics of the Battle of Gettysburg.
The Town of Gettysburg under Confederate Occupation.
History of the Battlefield Guide Association.
The 25th Anniversary of the Battle of Gettysburg.
The History of Monumentation on the Battlefield.

52. *Gettysburg Times*, July 8, 1957, Tilberg Files, Development: Wayside Exhibits, GNMP Library. According to NPS Chief Historian Edwin C. Bearss these exhibits were planned and approved rapidly and generally demonstrate less sophistication than NPS standards require.

53. Superintendent, Gettysburg NMP to Regional Director, October 17, 1958, WASO Park Archives, and Vertical Files, Inventory of "Cultural Resources," Sept. 1976, Listing of Historical Studies, etc., GNMP Library.

PARK RESTORATION PROGRAM

During the 1950s and 1960s various efforts were initiated to restore buildings in the park to their Civil War appearance. During the spring and summer of 1951, for instance, the Bryan House was restored to its 1863 appearance. The work included removal of the structure's wings and lowering of the roof. The house had been unoccupied since 1940 when its condition had become such that it could no longer be used for living purposes. Plans for the restoration had been underway for some years, but lack of funding had prevented the work.⁵⁵

Rehabilitation work on park historic structures continued throughout the 1950s and 1960s. During the late 1950s and early 1960s, for instance, rehabilitation projects were carried out on the Spangler, Bushman, Codori, Culp, Brian, Trostle, Biggs, Klingel, Hummelbaugh, Wentz, and Snyder farm houses as part of an effort to make them habitable for Park Service personnel and farm tenants.⁵⁶

PARK VISITATION

In the interpretive section of the park master plan development outline in December 1951 Tilberg analyzed visitation patterns at Gettysburg. The report noted in part:

Number of Visitors – Visitation at this Park is heaviest during the months of June, July and August. The light travel of December, January and February, which is generally north and south traffic, increases gradually in the spring months, and during April and May general visitation is augmented by heavy bus travel from Pennsylvania and adjoining states bearing school groups on tours usually to Washington and Gettysburg. In recent years, several travel agencies have been directing an increasing number of tours to Gettysburg or through Gettysburg as a part of a broader tour. Heavy visitation occurs on

54. *Master Plan For Preservation and Use of Gettysburg National Military Park*, Vol. III, Sec. D., March 1963.

55. *Gettysburg Times*, March 31, 1951, Newspaper Clippings [1929-1963], GNMP Library.

56. Superintendent, GNMP to Chief, EODC, August 10, 1956; Barnes, Littleton, and Peterson to Regional Director, Region Five, October 16, 1956; Nutt to Chief, EODC, February 3, 1960; and Regional Director to Chief, Eastern Office, Division of Design and Construction, March 20, 1961; WASO Park Archives.

holidays, particularly Memorial Day, Fourth of July and Labor Day. Following Labor Day, visitation tapers off through the autumn months.

The average number of visitors annually in the five-year post-war period is 650,000. Of this number approximately 6,200 were served by Park Ranger Historians at Little Round Top and Devil's Den and 30,000 at the Cyclorama, in the Park Museum, or on field tours. Approximately 100,000 were served by private guides conducting tours of the field.⁵⁷

Visitation to Gettysburg increased during the early 1950s. The numbers for the first six years of that decade were: 659,894 (1950); 684,050 (1951); 710,993 (1952), 680,624 (1953); 705,519 (1954); and 724,037 (1955). In his "Narrative Report On Visitor Services, 1955" Tilberg observed:

The total visitation of 724,037 in the calendar year 1955 shows a marked increase over that of the preceding year. Travel figures showed a total of 705,519 for 1954. Much of the increase is accounted for by the gradually growing number of commercial bus lines operating tours to the battlefield. There is also an increase in school groups from neighboring states as well as Pennsylvania. On the basis of a survey which shows that for every tourist party which employs a guide there are 6 who do not, we arrived at an estimate of 165,074 cars in the field in 1955 and 161,955 in 1954. Furthermore, 1325 buses in 1955 carried 47,796 persons to the field and 1215 buses brought 42,959 in 1954. The heaviest bus visitation is in May when schools throughout the east and midwest conduct tours to such points of interest as Washington, D. C., Philadelphia and Gettysburg in this area. In May 1955, a total of 521 buses brought 19,003 persons to the battlefield and in 1954, 516 buses brought 18,883. . . .

During the summer months, and to a lesser extent in late spring and early fall, the main trend of travel is eastward and westward over Route U.S. 30 and the Pennsylvania Turnpike and this is clearly reflected in the record of visitors by states. In the winter the trend is north to south over U.S. Route 15. Even in mid-winter, there is a considerable number of visitors on the field. By way of example, an estimated 5,964 persons visited the Park in December, 1955 and 8,036 in December, 1954. . . .⁵⁸

While the number of park visitors to the battlefield was increasing during the early 1950s the interests of the visitors were also changing. In a periodical article in the *Reading Railroad Magazine* in August 1954, Historian Tilberg commented on this subject:

57. Interpretive Section, Master Plan Development Outline, Approved August 26, 1952, WASO Park Archives.

58. Superintendent, GNMP to Director, January 31, 1956, Tilberg Files, Interpretive Activities Reports, GNMP Library.

. . . Perhaps the most noticeable difference in the type of visitor over the years is the change in interest. During the first half century after the battle, the veteran came to the field to review the ground over which he had fought, or perhaps a son of a veteran came to identify certain landmarks of which he had heard his father speak. Grandsons and granddaughters still come to the park office bearing letters or military documents of veterans of the war, requesting help to locate the monument erected to the regiment in which his or her grandfather fought, or, if a Pennsylvanian, to learn whether the name is listed on the Pennsylvania Memorial.

The interests of the average visitor, however, have changed. Through broad publicity of important events held at Gettysburg in recent years . . . the battlefield and the cemetery have been brought to the attention of millions. The interest in the battlefield now centers more in the story of the battle, famous landmarks such as Seminary Ridge, Cemetery Ridge, Little Round Top, The Angle, Spangler's Spring, and how each of these well-known places fits into the course of the fighting. Although a large proportion of people who come to Gettysburg have only a curiosity to see the battlefield and to learn something of the over-all story of the battle, many have made a study of it and have become tacticians in their own way, hoping to find an answer to the failure of certain actual battle maneuvers.⁵⁹

In his aforementioned "Museum Prospectus" prepared in November 1956 Tilberg commented on the most significant annual park activities that drew visitors and the primary reasons for visitation to the park. The principal events in the park included: (1) a Lincoln Birthday Boy Scout Pilgrimage in the national cemetery; (2) a Memorial Day service in the national cemetery sponsored by the Gettysburg Camp, Sons of Union Veterans, the American Legion, and the Veterans of Foreign Wars; (3) observance of Independence Day and the battle's anniversary sponsored by the Gettysburg Fire Department; (4) a Veteran's Day service in the national cemetery sponsored by the American Legion; (5) commemoration of Dedication Day sponsored by the Lincoln Fellowship of Pennsylvania and the Gettysburg Camp, Sons of Union Veterans; and (6) a series of Sunday evening campfire programs during July and August.⁶⁰

Visitation to the park continued to increase greatly during the late 1950s, growing from 756,320 in 1956 to 1,343,265 in 1960.⁶¹ In his "Annual Report of Information and

59. Frederick Tilberg, "Gettysburg in 1954," *Reading Railroad Magazine*, August, 1954, 4-5, 8.

60. Tilberg, "Museum Prospectus, Gettysburg National Military Park and Cemetery," November 27, 1956.

61. *Gettysburg Times*, January 1, 1957, Newspaper Clippings [1929-1963], GNMP Library, and Superintendent, Gettysburg NMP to Director, January 30, 1958, Park Files, Cyclorama Drum Storage Area, GNMP.

Interpretive Services" for 1960 Historian Tilberg described the growing visitation to the park. In his analysis he discussed a method of counting park visitors:

The total travel figure of 1,343,265 for 1960 represents an increase of 471,057 over 1959. A part of this increase is due to a change in the method of counting visitors, which was started January 1, 1960. Through various checks, we found that the former method has not shown the true travel picture. Observing that much of Park travel cannot be related to guided tours, we have found that placing a traffic counter on Hancock Avenue gave a more accurate total of the number of cars on the field. The multiplier used for estimating the number of persons was obtained each month by averaging the number of persons in guided tours. We have been aware for some time of the practice of schools and commercial bus lines providing their own guide service on tours of the battlefield. A survey last year indicated that about 50 per cent of bus groups visiting the field do not employ licensed guides. In arriving at the total bus visitation, we have, therefore, doubled the number of persons visiting the field on tours conducted by licensed guides. The total number of bus tours in 1960 was 3884, an increase of 2,044 over 1959; the number of persons in bus tours in 1960 was 150,040, an increase of 81,151 over 1959. Using last year's method of calculation, however, the actual increase was 102 bus tours and 6,131 persons. An increase in school and commercial buses alike is reflected in the overall total. Included in the overall total are walking visitors, particularly those groups who arrive by bus at the Rosensteel Museum and walk to the National Cemetery.⁶²

From time to time during the 1950s and 1960s distinguished persons visited the park. On May 11, 1957, President Dwight D. Eisenhower and British Field Marshall Bernard Montgomery, the British soldier and World War II subordinate of Eisenhower, toured the park. Eisenhower and French President Charles De Gaulle visited the battlefield on April 24, 1960. Another such occasion was the unannounced visit of President and Mrs. John F. Kennedy on March 31, 1963. They were driven over portions of the park by J. Melchior Sheads, a long-time Park Service employee.⁶³

Visitation to the Gettysburg battlefield increased each year during the early 1960s, reaching an all-time record to date in the centennial year of 1963. Park estimates of visitation were 1,711,481 in 1961, 1,904,021 in 1962, and 2,041,378 in 1963. Visitor statistics for the centennial year showed that there were 31 automobile accidents and one auto-related fatality in the park. Twelve persons were reported hurt in non-automobile related accidents, including

62. Frederick Tilberg, "Annual Report of Information and Interpretive Services," February 1, 1961, Tilberg Files, Interpretive Activities Reports, GNMP Library.

63. *Gettysburg Times*, April 1, 1963, Gettysburg Newspaper Clippings, 1962-1963, GNMP Library. While at Gettysburg Eisenhower and Montgomery stirred controversy by offering the opinion that both Meade and Lee should have been sacked for their performance during the historic battle.

several youngsters who fell at Devil's Den or off cannon. Thirty-seven violators of park regulations were taken before the U.S. Marshal during the year and paid fines totaling \$675. During the year 5,114 buses toured the battlefield carrying 198,481 visitors. Campers spent 17,409 camper-days on the battlefield.⁶⁴

CRIME AND VANDALISM IN THE PARK

By the early 1960s crime and vandalism in the park were becoming problems with which NPS authorities had to deal. One well-publicized incident that drew attention to this issue was the criminal assault of two Gettysburg College coeds near Oak Ridge in March 1963 by an Adams County farm laborer.⁶⁵

A wave of vandalism hit the park in May 1964. A cannon of the Fifth Massachusetts Battery was moved off its foundation to block Wheatfield Road near the Peach Orchard. Directional and tour signs at Devil's Den and an exhibit case at Little Round Top were also destroyed.⁶⁶

Hundreds of dollars in damage were inflicted on park resources in another wave of vandalism in August 1964. Six signs were removed or smashed, a bronze musket was torn from the 151st Pennsylvania Monument in Reynolds' Woods, and an entire pyramid of 30 three-inch cannon shells was removed from its base at a battery position at the Pennsylvania Monument on Hancock Avenue.⁶⁷

PARK TREE AND BRUSH REMOVAL PROJECTS

During the fall and winter of 1963-64 some eighty local men were employed to remove trees and brush from selected areas covering some 280 acres of the battlefield under the direction of the Gettysburg National Military Park staff. The project was financed by accelerated Public Works Funds provided by the federal government to ease temporary

64. *Gettysburg Times*, January 3, 1964, Newspaper Clippings, 1963-1966, GNMP Library.

65. *Gettysburg Times*, March 29, 1963, Gettysburg Newspaper Clippings, 1962-1963, GNMP Library.

66. *Gettysburg Times*, May 25, 1964, Newspaper Clippings, 1963-1966, GNMP Library.

67. *Gettysburg Times*, August 15, 1964, Newspaper Clippings, 1963-1966, GNMP Library.

unemployment in Adams County. The funds amounted to \$75,000, and the workers were obtained through the Adams County office of the Pennsylvania State Employment Service.

Using the 1868-69 Warren Map Survey as a guide, trees and brush were removed from areas of the battlefield that were open at the time of the battle but which had become overgrown in recent decades. Four cutting crews began removing brush on the west slope of Little Round Top so that boulders on the side of the hill were exposed. Cutting then shifted to the west and north of Little Round Top, clearing the low ground along Plum Run between the Trostle farm buildings and Little Round Top and the low ground just west of Sedgwick Avenue. Boulders on the Devil's Den ridge were also bared by clearing. A slope behind Devil's Den between Crawford Avenue and the Wheatfield was cleared as was the area around the Rose farm buildings. Other areas that were cleared included the Bushman and Snyder farms, the former Wolf tract west of Round Top, the Trostle farm west of the Pennsylvania Monument, and the Powers Hill and Culp's Hill vicinities. The brush and small trees removed by such techniques as bulldozing and piling were burned, and the cordwood sold by bid. Once the fields were cleared it was intended to control future tree growth by periodic mowing, but this was not done in the majority of the areas cleared, thus allowing them to return to woodland.⁶⁸

PARK MAINTENANCE PROGRAM

Maintenance operations at Gettysburg continued to increase during the 1960s, particularly in light of the Mission 66 improvements and establishment of Eisenhower National Historic Site in November 1967. A Park Service news release in February 1970 indicated the extent, objectives, and recent accomplishments of the park's maintenance program:

The inventory of park assets today shows 154 buildings of various sizes and types, 70 of which are considered as historic, 70 miles of historic type fences, 900 monuments and markers, 1,000 outdoor interpretive exhibits, 2,800 informational signs, 416 cannon and artillery exhibits, 5 outdoor electronic audio units, 3 observation towers, 25 water systems, 26 sewage systems, and 39 miles of roads and 20 miles of trails and walks.

68. *Gettysburg Times*, November 1, 1963, Gettysburg Newspaper Clippings, 1962-1963, GNMP Library; *Gettysburg Times*, February 12, 1964, Newspaper Clippings, 1963-1966, GNMP Library; and Young to Evans, May 26, 1964, WASO Park Archives. The clearing projects meant that flowering dogwoods were removed, thus leading to charges of battlefield desecration by local garden club enthusiasts. Telephone interview with Wing by author, November 14, 1985.

The objective of the maintenance program is to provide for the orderly care and maintenance of all facilities, as nearly as possible in their historic condition and in such manner that each park visitor may enjoy a safe and comfortable visit. Since the Park has a memorial aspect also, it is necessary to compromise with the true historical picture in order to provide a dignified setting for each monument. This requires a program balanced between the two.

To provide for the maintenance of the more sophisticated equipment, such as that controlling the sound and light program in the Cyclorama, employee training courses have been instituted. . . .⁶⁹

LICENSED BATTLEFIELD GUIDE SERVICE

The relationship between the Gettysburg Battlefield Guides Association and the National Park Service continued to be strained during the 1950s and 1960s. In March 1951, for instance, the association, with the backing of the Gettysburg Chamber of Commerce, requested that the Secretary of the Interior investigate "the local office of the National Park Service with particular reference to its practices relating to battlefield guides and to community enterprises of long standing." At issue were the following complaints by the association:

1. Guides' opposition to NPS efforts to have them placed under the Civil Service.
2. NPS policy of failing to appoint guides to replace those who died and retired or were removed until the number of active guides had dropped below the agreed standard of 55.
3. NPS publication of booklets advertising self-guided tours and employment of historians to sell such books.⁷⁰

As a result of these complaints a meeting was held on March 30 with representatives of the National Park Service, Gettysburg Chamber of Commerce, and Gettysburg Battlefield Guides Association. At the meeting the Park Service representatives stated that the agency did not intend to abolish the existing licensed guide system and that any proposal to place the guides under Civil Service would have to be initiated by the guides themselves. The

69. Gettysburg National Military Park, News Release, Maintenance at Gettysburg National Military Park, February 10, 1970, Press Releases-Park Info. Handouts, GNMP Library.

70. Garvin to Martin, March 12, 1951, WASO Park Archives.

guides present requested permission for increased tour fees and enlargement of the guide force to 55.⁷¹

The Park Service sent a questionnaire to each guide before making a decision on raising guide fees and enlarging the guide force. In a letter to Congressman James F. Lind on May 11, 1951, NPS Director Arthur E. Demaray released the results of the survey, as well as Park Service responses in light of the results:

There was a vote of 24 in favor, and 22 against, increasing the number of licensed guides to a maximum of 55 active guides. This is a very narrow majority in favor of an increase in the number of licensed guides. Inasmuch as 55 guides would not be too great a number for park purposes, this Service would be willing, however, to concur in setting the number of guides at 55 provided that all those men interested and not at present holding an active guide license are examined for the purpose of establishing a new list from which to select additional guides. The examination would be given by the National Park Service and it would be open to persons over 21 years of age at present residing within a radius of 50 miles of Gettysburg National Military Park. . . .

The vote on the proposed change of rates was also very close. . . . There is, therefore, a slight majority in favor of an increase in the bus rate. In the opinion of this Service there does appear to be a clear justification for increasing the charges made by guides for serving bus loads of visitors, and if we were free to do so, I would be willing to recommend to the Secretary of the Interior that the bus rate be raised to \$5.00 per bus for a short tour of the Park which does not exceed 1 hour and to \$7.50 for a longer tour which runs between 1 and 2 hours. I regret to say, however, that this modification in rate has now come under the provision of the Price Regulation, Title 32A-National Defense, Appendix, Chapter II, issued January 26, 1951, by the Economic Stabilization Agency. In these circumstances, the Secretary of the Interior is without authority to grant an increase in the rates.⁷²

The guides, however, continued to press for an increase in fees because of the rising cost of living. On December 13, 1951, the association passed a resolution requesting the following rates:

Short one-hour trip – \$3 per trip
Long two-hour trip – \$4 per trip
Bus parties, short one-hour trip – \$5 per trip
Bus parties, long two-hour trip – \$6 per trip

71. White to Duff, May 11, 1951, WASO Park Archives.

72. Demaray to Lind, May 11, 1951, WASO Park Archives.

After approval by the Price Stabilization Administration in April, Director Wirth ordered the new rates to be implemented on May 1.⁷³

The guides' association requested permission to operate taxicabs on the battlefield in March 1952. NPS Director Wirth approved the request, while providing a brief history of the issue:

The regulation prohibiting guides from operating a vehicle for hire while in uniform was issued about 1916. Some of the guides owning automobiles at that time operated them as taxicabs and abuses set in. During World War II, with the shortage of gasoline, tires, and manpower, the National Park Service waived this regulation. In the postwar era, the regulation was again put into effect. . . . In the present emergency, there is again a shortage of manpower and we are willing to hold this regulation in abeyance during the remainder of this calendar year.⁷⁴

Throughout the remainder of the 1950s relations between the guides and the Park Service were fairly stable with one exception. In November 1955 Director Wirth briefly attempted to resurrect the plan of having legislation introduced in Congress authorizing placement of the guides on the federal payroll. Opposition of the guides, however, forced local congressmen to refuse to introduce such legislation as was the case in the 1940s when a similar effort was initiated by Park Service officials.⁷⁵

In 1960 relations between the guides and the Park Service were again strained when a local bus company was permitted to give tours of the park without licensed guides. That year Cliff Arquette, who operated the Soldiers Museum in Gettysburg, purchased three 17-passenger buses, obtained a Pennsylvania Utilities Commission franchise, and started a tour service named Gettysburg Battlefield Tours, Inc., that took in the Borough of Gettysburg and portions of drives in the park. The buses were equipped with tape recorded narrations describing the scenes which the bus was passing. The buses did not carry paid guides, and thus the guides viewed the tour bus operation as unfair business competition. The guides appealed their grievances to the Park Service, but the Washington Office determined that the bus operation would be treated in the same category as any other bus taking passengers over the Gettysburg battlefield as long as it had a valid Pennsylvania Utilities Commission permit to operate at Gettysburg and did not solicit business on federal property, pick up and

73. Wirth to Regional Director, Region One, May 15, 1952; Wirth to Arnall, March 18, 1952; and Arnall to Wirth, April 18, 1952; WASO Park Archives.

74. Wirth to Lind, March 11, 1952, WASO Park Archives.

75. Wirth to Davis, November 16, 1955, WASO Park Archives.

discharge passengers within the park, or violate any park violations. This decision continued to be the cause of complaints by the guides' association for several years.⁷⁶

Because of the continuing friction between the Park Service and the guides Superintendent Myers and Regional Director Lee developed a six-point program to improve the guide system in November 1960. The recommendations, approved by Director Wirth in February 1961, were:

1. The National Park Service recognizes the long-established demand by the traveling public for licensed guide service at Gettysburg Battlefield.
2. The National Park Service expects to continue the licensed guide system as long as the public need continues.
3. A position of guide supervisor will be established in a grade sufficiently high to attract an individual with the ability to perform the duties that would be expected of the position, with his full time devoted to training and supervision of the guides.
4. For the present the number of guides licensed will be held to a maximum of 55 individuals.
5. The South and West End Entrance Stations will be used by the guides, but with a uniformed National Park Service employee on duty at each of these stations during the spring, summer, and fall travel season in order that the visitor's initial contact will be with a uniformed representative of the National Park Service.
6. The guides now operating from the town square and from East Cemetery Hill, and Route 15 north, will be moved to the Visitor Center building when it is opened to the public and will use the facilities provided for guides within this building.⁷⁷

In 1962 the guides were formally placed under the direct supervision of the National Park Service. With the opening of the new park visitor center in November 1962 Director Wirth approved a proposal for discontinuing guide solicitations from a roadside location on the Baltimore Pike near the national cemetery and a guide shelter on Route 15 north of Gettysburg. Thereafter guide solicitations would be conducted only from the two official

76. Carver to Bible, March 15, 1963, WASO Park Archives.

77. Regional Director to Director, November 17, 1960; Chief, Division of Interpretation to Director, January 31, 1961; and Director to Regional Director, Region Five, February 6, 1961; WASO Park Archives.

entrance stations on Route 15 south of the park and on Route 30 west of the park, the central square in Gettysburg, and a lounge in the new visitor center.⁷⁸

In an effort to improve the quality of the guide service at Gettysburg a new application form and 200-question examination were developed by the Park Service for prospective applicants for battlefield guide licenses in November 1963. The examination was considered to be difficult but fair by NPS professionals. Each applicant was entitled to an advance tour of the battlefield by a park historian and an NPS handbook for guides before taking the test.⁷⁹

The Park Service continued its efforts throughout the 1960s to provide for a supervised and professionalized licensed guide service at Gettysburg. In 1969 some 62 licensed guides provided service to some 200,000 visitors with receipts from tour trips totaling \$129,339. In that year the first female battlefield guide, Mrs. Barbara Schutt, was licensed. An NPS news release in February 1970 stated that "every Guide passes an extensive, detailed written examination and meets prescribed standards of oral performance before the National Park Service issues his license and insignia."⁸⁰

IMPACT OF EISENHOWER HOME ON PARK

The purchase of the Allan S. Redding farm on the edge of Gettysburg National Military Park by General Dwight D. Eisenhower in 1950 portended a significant impact on the battlefield and town throughout the 1950s and 1960s. The influence of the Eisenhowers in terms of giving publicity and drawing visitors to the Gettysburg area was especially important during the years 1953-61 when Eisenhower served as President of the United States. During his presidency Eisenhower entertained such guests as British Field Marshal Viscount Montgomery, Winston Churchill, and Nikita Khrushchev at Gettysburg, often

78. Wirth to Scott, May 7, 1963, WASO Park Archives. Milton Thompson of the park staff was assigned the responsibility of overseeing the guides and guide service program.

79. Price to Superintendent, Gettysburg, November 4, 1963, WASO Park Archives.

80. Gettysburg National Military Park, News Release, Battlefield Guides – Big Business, History and Patriotism, February 10, 1970, Press Releases-Park Info. Handouts, GNMP Library.

providing them with personal tours of portions of the battlefield.⁸¹ On July 11, 1955, *Newsweek* described the effect of the Eisenhower home on Gettysburg:

The sight-seers' curiosity is paying off for the town. Four years ago, there were no modern motels near the stretch of US-15 that passes within a half mile of the Eisenhower home. Now there are six (four of them expanding) and more to come. "The publicity Gettysburg is getting through Ike certainly helped make up my mind," says Paul Witt, a newcomer from Detroit who traveled 45,000 miles looking for land to build his \$250,000 motel and swimming pool. . . .

A candy chain is putting up a shop at Highway 15 and Waterworks Road; a drive-in theater was blocked when the government added the proposed site to its battlefield park; a restaurant is going up nearby and another was taken over by J. Howard (Smitty) Smith, who admits: "The night Eisenhower was elected, I turned somersaults. I could see him put Gettysburg on the map! If it weren't for Eisenhower, I'd be someplace else."

Real-estate prices have zoomed for miles around the President's home. One commercial lot, worth \$15,000 three years ago, just sold for \$65,000. Farmers are painting barns, putting up neat new fences, fending off real-estate agents and congratulating themselves on the beauty of the countryside that attracted those new neighbors from Washington.⁸²

After 1961 the farm was the retirement home of General and Mrs. Eisenhower until his death on March 28, 1969. On November 27, 1967, the Eisenhowers donated their Gettysburg residence and surrounding 230 acres of farmland to the United States, subject to a life estate retained by the Eisenhowers and the right of the survivor to continue living there for a period not to exceed six months. Upon the death of her husband, Mrs. Eisenhower requested and received a special use permit to reside in the farmhouse and surrounding fourteen acres on an indefinite basis.

Funds to develop the 230-acre Eisenhower National Historic Site were authorized by act of Congress (83 Stat. 274) on December 2, 1969, and the Park Service was given a mandate to develop and adapt the farm for interpretive and visitation purposes after the death of Mrs. Eisenhower. Administration of the site was assigned to the superintendent of Gettysburg

81. "New Battle of Gettysburg," *Time*, LXIX (May 20, 1957), 28; "Gettysburg Refought," *Time*, LXIX (May 27, 1957), 74; "About the Battle," *Time*, LXXVIII (September 22, 1961), 26; and Walter Mills, "The Generals Take A Stroll," *Saturday Review*, XL (June 6, 1957), 20.

82. "Ike Comes To Town: And What's Happening To Gettysburg," *Newsweek*, XLVI (July 11, 1955), 21-25. Also see "Gettysburg Temporary Capital of America," *Senior Scholastic*, LXVII (November 17, 1955), 14-15, and Rowland T. Moriarty and Frederick A. McCord, "Ike, Mamie and the Neighbors," *Saturday Evening Post*, CCXXIX (November 3, 1956), 32-33, 113-15.

National Military Park. The legislation provided that the adjacent 262-acre Alton Jones farm, used for many years by the Eisenhowers, be removed from Gettysburg National Military Park and made part of Eisenhower National Historic Site. The site was finally opened to the public on June 14, 1980.⁸³

83. U.S. Congress, Senate, Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs, *Providing For the Development of the Eisenhower National Historic Site at Gettysburg, Pa., And For Other Purposes*, 91st Cong., 1st Sess., 1969, S. Rept. 91-365, pp. 1-8, and U.S. Congress, House, Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs, *Providing For the Development of the Eisenhower National Historic Site at Gettysburg, Pa., And For Other Purposes*, 91st Cong., 1st Sess, 1969, H. Rept. 91-479, pp. 1-7.

CHAPTER XI:
ADMINISTRATION OF GETTYSBURG NATIONAL MILITARY PARK AND
CEMETERY UNDER THE NATIONAL PARK SERVICE: 1970-1982

INTRODUCTION

Administration and development of National Park Service areas, such as Gettysburg National Military Park and Cemetery, during the 1970s and early 1980s were governed according to the *Administrative Policies for Historical Areas of the National Park System* as revised in 1973. As one of the prime historical areas in the system, it became the focus of National Park Service management as it sought to implement those policies.¹

PARK ADMINISTRATION

During the 1970-82 period Gettysburg National Military Park and Gettysburg National Cemetery were administered under the direction of two superintendents. After George F. Emery was transferred to the Washington Office on November 28, 1970, Jerry L. Schober took up duties as park superintendent on December 13. Previous to this appointment Schober had served as superintendent of Abraham Lincoln Birthplace National Historic Site, Kentucky, beginning on July 14, 1968. Schober served at Gettysburg until August 1974, when John R. Earnst was assigned to that position. Prior to taking up his duties at Gettysburg, Earnst had held superintendencies at Perry's Victory & International Peace Memorial National Monument, Ohio (1966-67) and Badlands National Monument, South Dakota (1967-70) and served as Chief, Operations Evaluation in the Pacific Northwest Regional Office, Seattle (1971-74).²

1. Also see William C. Everhart, *The National Park Service* (Boulder, 1983) for more data on NPS administrative policies during the 1970s and early 1980s.

2. *Centennial Edition, National Park Service Officials, March 1, 1972*, pp. 18, 32, 38, 66, 93. The author of this study conducted a personal interview with John R. Earnst at Gettysburg National Military Park on June 27, 1985, and telephone interviews with Jerry L. Schober, superintendent of Jefferson National Expansion Memorial National Historic Site, on December 4, 11, 1985.

PARK OPERATIONS EVALUATION

During the 1970s three operations evaluations of Gettysburg National Military Park were conducted by NPS regional personnel. The purpose of such evaluations was to identify and provide recognition of exceptional contributions by park personnel, acquire insight into all aspects of park operations and regional office interaction with the park, and convey to the regional director, through a prepared report, an overall impression of the park operations with recommendations on matters requiring specific attention and support.

The first of these evaluations was held on May 11-19, 1970, by a Northeast Regional Office operations evaluation team, consisting of James W. Godbolt, Chief, Office of Operations Evaluation, and Operations Evaluation Specialists Nathan B. Golub and Earl W. Estes. In general, the team reported that it found the park in good condition, the visitor center and cyclorama well maintained, and the appearance of the park "generally good."

The operations evaluation team reported, however, that a number of issues required attention. The most pressing of these was the Cemetery Annex:

The deferment of construction project funding and scheduling has created a real problem. The haste with which the Park has had to provide burial space . . . has complicated the maintenance of an acceptable appearance. Presently, there is an average of 25 burials a month. There is no circulatory road through the burial grounds; only a short, inadequate spur, making it impossible to properly assign burial plots in a manner conducive to good cemetery operations. Consequently, there is considerable raw earth exposed in the immediate burial area. . . . This should be helpful in that it will allow new graves to be spread over a larger area and subsequently reduce the exposure of raw earth. We would hasten to add that this is probably one of the most important public relations aspects of the Park at this time. . . .

The team observed that other maintenance items also needed attention. It stated:

Because of a personnel management situation . . . fence repair has been slighted and many of the fences are in poor condition. This, we believe, has an important effect upon Park visitor reaction and local community relations. It visually denotes a deficient maintenance situation. The team found numerous road surfaces have been built up without corresponding shoulder construction, creating a drop of from 4" to 8" from the pavement onto the shoulder. The trail and walk from the Little Round Top parking area to the visitor point continues to give erosion problems. . . .

While the park had given considerable attention to agricultural use permits, the team felt that program could be expanded to incorporate more innovative and far-reaching

considerations. There was need for the park to develop a natural resources management plan to assist management in enhancing the battlefield scene and providing a better understanding and appreciation of "Gettysburg."

The team felt the park should initiate innovative personal services which would disperse these programs away from Visitor Center operations. New programs

should be initiated, if only on an experimental basis, which provide flair and imagination in interpreting the Gettysburg story. This is not to say that the Park has not attempted to expand and extend its personal services program. The special program given the Boy Scouts deserves special commendation. The firearms demonstration held adjacent to the Visitor Center is another imaginative personal services program.

Last year the Park's personal services program was limited to the Visitor Center and a few locations within the Park. The Park is giving personal services more attention, and planning to expand the program. Several additions are now being considered. The licensed guides provide in depth on-site personal services through their tour services. The team looks upon the Park's program as a means of establishing quality and maintaining a high standard of interpretation of very significant and, perhaps, personal historic involvements of the Battle of Gettysburg. . . .

An issue requiring immediate attention was acceleration of the land acquisition program for the park. The team reported:

In conjunction with this, the development of an interim operational program during the formulating stages of the Master Plan should be seriously considered. An important property to the operation of Gettysburg is the Rosensteel property on which the National Museum is located. This seems to be the key to solving many of the operational problems presently facing the Park. Foremost is the protection of the Park from commercial encroachment. Secondly, it would provide a parking area which would permit the closing of the Cemetery to vehicular traffic. It would also provide future space to integrate a local Tourist Council Information Center, the Park Information Center, and an opportunity to centralize the licensed Park Guides. . . . The acquisition of this property would also acquire for the Park an outstanding and important museum collection and provide space for interpretive exhibits that cannot and should not be placed in the Visitor Center-Cyclorama complex. . . .

The report included a park organization chart prepared in 1970 indicating that Gettysburg National Military Park operated through four divisions under the office of the superintendent. These were: administrative, interpretation and visitor services, resources management and visitor protection, and maintenance. The various divisions consisted of the following personnel:

Office of the Superintendent
Superintendent
Secretary (Steno)

Administrative Division
Administrative Officer
Administrative Clerk
Clerk-Steno

Interpretation and Visitor Services
Chief Interpretive Specialist
Supervisory Interpretive Specialist
2 Interpretive Specialists
Supervisory Park Guide
3 Park Technicians
21 Park Rangers (Historians)

Resources Management and Visitor Protection
Chief Park Ranger
Assistant Chief Park Ranger
Park Ranger
6 Park Technicians (General)

Maintenance Division
Maintenance Supervisor
Clerk-Steno
Foreman III B&U
Foreman III R&T
Foreman II B&U
Mechanic
Building Repair
3 Maintenance Workers
Painter
4 Engineer Equipment Operators
2 Maintenance Workers
5 Laborers
Janitor
13 Laborers (Seasonal)³

Nearly three years later another operations evaluation of the park was conducted by personnel from the Northeast Regional Office. The evaluation was conducted during March 26-30, 1973, by a team consisting of Benjamin J. Zerbey, Chief of Operations Evaluation, Albert Dillahunty and Dennis E. McGinnis, operations evaluation specialists, and

3. Northeast Regional Office, "Operations Evaluation: Gettysburg National Military Park and Cemetery and Eisenhower National Historic Site," July 1970, pp. 3-7, 15.

Ray La Pierre, Administrative Trainee. In its report, which was approved by Northeast Regional Director Chester L. Brooks on May 31, the team reported:

For some unknown reason, Gettysburg-Eisenhower refuses to settle down and act like a long-established park.

We found staff commitment to be high and overall morale greatly improved from our last visit to this park. There is an atmosphere of teamwork present which had been missing for a long time. Credit for this change in attitude can be attributed to the atmosphere of cooperation generated by Superintendent Schober and key staff, as well as the concern exhibited by the local union leadership to make Gettysburg the best park in the Northeast Region.

The reorganization of the park divisions was examined in some detail in the operations evaluation report. Under the new park organization there was an office of the superintendent and three divisions: resources management, visitor services, and maintenance.⁴

The final operations evaluation of the park during the 1970-82 period was conducted by Mid-Atlantic Regional Office personnel on June 20-24, 1977. The operations evaluation team consisted of Clyde Bodge, John Abbett, Henry Magaziner, Joseph Monkoski, Chester Harris, Azalea Murray, Harry O'Bryant, and Samuel Moore. In the summary statement of its report, which was approved by Regional Director Richard L. Stanton, the team reported:

The Gettysburg operation has many favorable and positive aspects which combine into an overall quality operation. Employees are talented and dedicated to provide a safe and quality visit to the park visitor.

Park management is knowledgeable of and attentive to a large variety of employee and resource needs. Generally, employees support the park programs and provide valuable assistance in accomplishing or working toward Objectives of Management.

Gettysburg maintenance program has had limited funding due to the recent NPS impetus and need to place Bicentennial Areas in the higher priority. Regardless of the extreme funding and personnel limitations, the park managed (with encouragement and support from others) to enlarge upon their in house preservation capabilities. . . .

The Interpretation and Visitor Services program is unique in that an extraordinary number of aspects are accomplished through cooperation with

4. Northeast Regional Office, "Operations Evaluation: Gettysburg National Military Park and Cemetery and Eisenhower National Historic Site," March 26-30, 1973, pp. 1-33, Folder – "For Admin. His. GNMP, GNC, ENHS," GNMP Library.

others. . . . Commercial tour groups operate within the park and provide interpretation and visitor services but are under no direct regulatory control by the Service. Cooperative efforts help to establish quality tour operation.

The park staff and the staff of the cooperating association display a commendable degree of hostmanship toward the park visitors. Various groups and employees have an impressive attitude of providing information and sharing the park story with visitors.

The park has a viable natural resource management program in the utilization of agricultural permittees for land management. Other areas of natural resource management are being studied to meet current and pressing needs. Visitor protection and resource protection are well balanced programs and receive priority consideration commensurate with need.⁵

PARK MASTER PLAN

By 1968 there was a general awareness among National Park Service officials that the 1964 master plan for Gettysburg National Military Park and Gettysburg National Cemetery needed updating and revision. Among the reasons for this realization was the (1) establishment of Eisenhower National Historic Site in November 1967 and its placement under Gettysburg for administrative purposes; (2) increased visitation and the projection of exceptionally high future visitation; and (3) the concerns of various individuals, groups, and political entities in the community relative to the future of the park. The effort to come up with an approved master plan would take fourteen years, and the myriad issues that would surface during that effort would represent in microcosm the problems, potentialities, and challenges facing NPS management in administering parks in the late twentieth century.

The 14-year planning effort at Gettysburg, which began in early 1969, would face an almost endless series of difficulties. The effort commenced some 5 to 6 years after the Civil War centennial celebrations and just as the Park Service was gearing up to undertake its extensive Bicentennial programs. Thus, funding and personnel commitments would be funneled primarily toward the Revolutionary War parks in the National Park System during the 1970s. The planning effort would also be hindered by local political pressures. The Park Service needed the cooperation of local officials in terms of zoning for land protection, but some of these individuals viewed the park as a visible symbol of the federal presence that was limiting the residential and commercial development of the town. The Park Service effort

5. Operations Evaluation, Gettysburg National Military Park, June 20-24, 1977, pp. 1-3, 45-47, PRP Files, MARO-CR.

to acquire park inholdings and zone buffer areas around the park for preservation purposes removed land from local tax rolls, causing further opposition to the federal presence in the community. Local political interests procured some state and federal leaders and agencies to support their cause, thus complicating the planning effort. Regional planning efforts conducted simultaneously with the Park Service endeavor led to misunderstanding, and national publicity surrounding the construction of the controversial Gettysburg Tower in the early 1970s created a climate of distrust during the decade.

In May 1969, while the NPS planning team was working on the initial draft of the new park master plan, the Department of Housing and Urban Development (HUD) approved a \$66,378 planning grant for Gettysburg and Cumberland Township. The grant was designed to establish an innovative prototype plan for development of the town and township and their relationship with the NPS units at Gettysburg. The HUD 701-B program, under which the grant was administered, was designed to produce a comprehensive regional development plan for the local municipalities and park units. The federally-financed study for the Gettysburg vicinity was HUD's pilot project in an attempt to develop better planning in communities adjacent to national park facilities throughout the nation. Efforts were to be made to coordinate the NPS master plan and the HUD study.⁶

Meanwhile, the NPS planning effort went ahead. A team consisting of park, regional, and Washington Office personnel, with Hobart G. Cawood as captain, developed a draft master plan for the park and cemetery (since Eisenhower National Historical Site was administered by the park it was included in the master plan). The draft master plan was prepared for review in July 1969. In the summary statement of the plan the team listed critical problems facing the park:

. . . there are no less than 10 highways bringing visitors into the area at scattered locations . . . there is no conveniently located facility where one can plan his visit to the area instead of the hit and miss situation that exists . . . we provide a self-guiding auto tour that is slow, confusing, crowded, and chronologically backward . . . strategic parcels of the resource are in private ownership and often contain non-compatible development . . . compatible rural land use adjacent to the park boundary is changing to suburban and tourist oriented development . . . the multiplying millions of visitors traversing the area in their automobiles make it increasingly difficult to provide anyone with a quality experience . . . the interpretation of the area comes from many sources outside the Service's jurisdiction or control.

6. Charles E. Roe, "The Second Battle of Gettysburg: Conflict of Public and Private Interests in Land Use Policies," December 22, 1971, p. 9, and Thomas Harrison, "Log of Events Re To Park & Regional Planning and Tower Controversy at Gettysburg National Military Park, Gettysburg National Cemetery, Eisenhower National Historic Site," July 1976, GNMP Library.

The team elaborated on the problems facing the park stemming from ever-increasing numbers of visitors and visitor circulation patterns:

Through the years the visitors to Gettysburg have increased to the point that they now number in the millions. However, the interest of the visitor has changed. Most no longer wish the regiment by regiment details of the battle but rather would prefer to become acquainted with the general story and understand its relevance to the present. With the exception of acquiring additional historic lands, and erecting the Cyclorama Center and amphitheater in 1962, little has been done to update the park operation for present and future visitors.

When one adds the presence of Gettysburg National Cemetery, Eisenhower National Historic Site, and numerous commercial attractions which are located adjacent to the National Military Park it is easy to understand why visitor circulation problems would arise.

The draft master plan accordingly offered six major concepts, some short-range and some long-range, as "a goal for the future of Gettysburg." These concepts were:

1. Work with the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania to provide a beltway highway system around Gettysburg so that visitors arriving on any of the area approach roads can be directed to one location for introduction and orientation.
2. Provide a strategically located Tour Center to provide basic information about the three units of the National Park System, as well as, commercial attractions, overnight accommodations and visitor services of the community.
3. Insure the visitor an opportunity to visit separately or as part of a single tour, all of the units of the National Park System at Gettysburg.
4. Initiate a logically arranged tour route within the National Military Park that will provide management with alternatives to manipulate increased use and yet insure a quality experience. The guiding theory of this circulation route will be to look or walk into the prime historic resource from the periphery. During periods of heavy use the visitor will leave his automobile behind and utilize a concession operated conveyance.
5. Manage the historic resource in such a manner as to simulate the historic conditions, and thusly create a mood that will allow the visitor to be receptive to the interpretive story. This program includes the acquisition of inholdings in order to eliminate non-compatible uses from the heart of the battlefield.
6. Cooperate with the County, Township, and Borough on mutual problems including circulation and retention of the rural character of lands adjacent to National Park Service property.

The draft master plan also addressed the question of development themes for the park and cemetery. The plan stated that in planning future use at the park "we should direct our greatest concerns and efforts to easier and more orderly utilization of the battlefield by the public." To achieve "this environment of quality" was "basic attendance to pursue a movement toward simplification." In elaborating on this idea, the team observed:

The concept of a centralized tour center will consolidate most visitor services within the realm of information, orientation and eventually reservation and transportation in one convenient location servicing all existing and proposed arterials into Gettysburg. The tour center will give management the needed flexibility to regulate park capacity by managing the frequencies and types of vehicles into the park based on visitor use patterns. From the tour center traffic can move along a one-way tour road sequential with the interpretation of first, second, and third day battles. The plan calls for some redistribution of through traffic to the park periphery to relieve the tour route from unnecessary traffic and restore portions of 15S and 134 to historic traces. New roadwork is needed from the tour center as are realignments and grade separations of Highways 34, 134, 30, and 116 to achieve freedom safety for the battlefield visitors. The tour center is also appropriately located to combine interpretive tours through town perhaps along a historic district.

If there be any appropriate development theme it will be a movement to return the park to its Civil War flavor. Bypasses for Route 15 and 134 would enable us to convert these historic roads to traces through the battlefield. Added development features for interpretation and visitor convenience could be confined to the tour road corridor while continued restoration of pastoral farm countryside would be perpetuated with use of farmed fields, narrow country lanes, siding and walking trails with continuing maintenance and restoration of farm buildings.

Major development concentrations must be confined to the parks edge as is the Gettysburg Tour Center and Cyclorama Center where their impact upon surrounding lands would be inconsequential to the significant park resources. Continued purchase of inholdings will remove non-conforming uses from the scene. New roads in Gettysburg and the completion of the Interstates system within the region are certain to stimulate land development around the battlefield. Regional planning and zoning are urgently needed tools to maintain the quality of our park setting and further, to secure those land uses most compatible to our resource.⁷

While the NPS master plan was under review the Gettysburg regional plan was designed by the Philadelphia firm of Wallace, McHarg, Roberts, and Todd and Gladstone

7. U.S. Department of the Interior, National Park Service, *A Master Plan Report, Gettysburg National Military Park, Gettysburg National Cemetery, Eisenhower National Historic Site*, [July, 1969] pp. 18, 84-85, 109. Data relative to the planning process was provided to the author of this study by J. Fred Eubanks, MARO Planner, during a telephone interview on August 29, 1985.

Associates. In September and October 1970 the firm met with the NPS planning team on several occasions to coordinate the two planning efforts. In April 1971 borough and township officials tentatively approved the regional plan, which included options for development in water supply and waste removal systems, traffic and circulation, expansion of commercial activities, accommodation of residential growth, and patterns of park development. The plan urged adoption of a long overdue zoning plan and construction of a Route 30 bypass around Gettysburg. It suggested that the National Park Service purchase the four block strip of commercial establishments along Steinwehr Avenue and remove the concerns to new locations around the new tourist centers by using sales or special leasing arrangements of federal property at no tax loss to the borough.⁸

After lengthy review and subsequent discussion the NPS draft master plan was revised in November 1971. In December, however, it was determined that neither approval of the document nor public meetings could be held until an Environmental Impact Statement (EIS) for the plan had been accepted. Accordingly, a preliminary EIS was completed in March 1972.⁹

After considerable discussion and debate and preparation of several more drafts of the master plan, a new draft general management plan for the park and cemetery was prepared for public review in May 1977. In the introduction of the plan it was noted that the draft represented "a synthesis of ideas about the best future of these national park units." The plan stated that there had been many changes in the park and cemetery and in the surrounding communities since 1964 when the last approved master plan had been completed. These changes, which made "the need for a new plan apparent," included (1) acquisition of a new visitor center building, (2) additional land acquisition which had incorporated more historically important land and buildings inside park boundaries, (3) fluctuating visitor use patterns, and (4) constantly changing land uses in the surrounding communities.

The draft general management plan was organized in keeping with National Park Service planning guidelines that were issued in 1975. The plan included four interrelated parts. The Statement for Management, which was to be updated and revised annually by the park, reported on progress and reflected changing conditions or new situations that might affect the park's management objectives. The Resource Management Plan outlined strategies

8. Roe, "Second Battle of Gettysburg," pp. 10-11 , and Wallace, McHarg, Roberts, and Todd and Gladstone Associates, *Gettysburg – Cumberland Demonstration Program*, October, 1972.

9. Annual Report of Superintendent, Gettysburg National Military Park, January 22, 1973, p. 12, Park Administrative Files, GNMP.

for protecting, perpetuating, and preserving the park's cultural and natural resources. The Visitor Use Plan considered man's relationship with the park, proposing strategies for interpreting the park's story and for visitor use and safety. The General Development Plan established an action program for acquisition and development necessary to accomplish the other plan elements.

The Statement for Management of Gettysburg National Military Park and Gettysburg National Cemetery was approved by Acting Mid-Atlantic Regional Director Benjamin J. Zerbey on January 25, 1977. It developed management objectives that were designed to provide reference to administrators in directing park operations.¹⁰

The Resource Management Plan considered both the cultural and natural resources at Gettysburg. A description of the 1863 environment was contrasted with the existing environment, thus highlighting one of the park's most critical resources problems – deterioration of and threats to the historic scene. The park's primary resource, according to the plan, was its historic scene which included the "landscape's balance of open farmland and woodland, the historic farm units, the lanes and traces, fences, walls, and topographic features."

To develop a strategy for preserving and restoring the historic scene, a series of overlay maps were prepared as part of the Resource Management Plan. A comparison of the soil suitability maps with the historic scene maps revealed that the park's land was "most highly suited for the growth of native tree species and historically it was used for purposes for which it was not well suited." This meant that in order "to maintain or restore any historic scene intensive land management methods must be used." This was "most true" where it was "important to be as historically accurate as possible." In other areas it was determined "that management strategies should be used to approximate the historic scene with priority attention being given" the "1863 balance of open land to wood lands, then to the farm unit buildings, fences, crops and pasture, and lanes."

Natural resource issues were also discussed in the Resource Management Plan. Big Round Top was "an outstanding area" that was to "be managed as is, since it was not directly involved in any of the major battle actions." The park's mix of woodland, cropland, and pastures formed ideal habitat for several species, including deer and smaller mammals. Although the large animal populations, especially the deer, caused problems in agricultural

10. Statement for Management, Gettysburg National Military Park and Gettysburg National Cemetery, January 25, 1977, pp. 18-20, PRP Files, MARO-CR.

use areas, the daily range of the deer made it appear that a program to reduce the size of the herd in the park would not be effective, as stock would be quickly replaced from the outside. The plan proposed the means of accomplishing screening as an important method of protecting the historic scene.

The Visitor Use Plan, through analysis of visitor use records and statistics, found that the projection of eight million annual visitors by 1980, which was made in the 1960s, was grossly overestimated. Previous proposals for park development made in anticipation of extremely high visitation were scaled down considerably. For example, earlier planning efforts had proposed mass transit as the exclusive means for touring the park during the travel season, as well as the closing of numerous park entry roads to provide a park right-of-way separated from local traffic. It was now determined that these actions would not be needed in the foreseeable future.

The Visitor Use Plan made a number of proposals to enhance interpretation of the park. These included a chronological battlefield tour as the prime means of interpreting the park for the visitor, mass transit tours as an option, and tours originating in the park featuring licensed battlefield guides rather than "canned" programs for interpretation. Because Gettysburg could be confusing for many first-time visitors, it was proposed that the park work with the business community to provide a coordinated program of orientation for tourists.

To restore dignity to the national cemetery as a shrine the Visitor Use Plan proposed closing the cemetery grounds to vehicular traffic during the peak visitation season. To provide access, particularly for the elderly and the handicapped, a shuttle would be instituted, first for the cemetery and later to include The Angle, Meade's Headquarters, and the Cyclorama.

The General Development Plan proposed specific actions needed to accomplish the other plan elements. Regarding land acquisition the plan recommended that the park "live within its 3,874-acre ceiling with the one important exception of seeking the authority to acquire a right-of-way from the Cobean Farm to the proposed U.S. Route 30 bypass." The plan also recommended that the park continue to work on the acquisition of inholdings within its authorized boundary.

The General Development Plan contained a map identifying twelve critical areas beyond the park boundaries where it was felt that the historic scene was vulnerable.¹¹ The most vulnerable area was the East Cavalry Field where the park's holdings were small and the historic scene had been preserved only because private landowners were still farming the fields surrounding the park's avenues. The plan supported the idea that the park work with local governments to seek actions that would assure compatible adjacent land uses and development, thereby precluding the need for future park acquisition.

In proposing park development the plan proposed a short range program to make the park "as good as it can be" through actions to be taken over a five-year period as well as a long-range program that sought to achieve the ideal of the park "as it should be." The main feature of the long-range program was the implementation of a chronological park tour through development of a new visitor contact facility on the Cobean Farm, north of town. This facility in turn would be tied to the proposed construction of a U.S. Route 30 bypass.

Meanwhile, the plan provided for continued use of the existing visitor center [Electric Map Building] until the building became inadequate for its needs. Under a separate, site-specific planning project, the building was being redesigned to better accommodate park use, including proposals for a new entrance, a reordering of its internal space, an upgrading of the electric map's technology, and landscaping of the parking lot and Taneytown Road. Ultimately the plan called for removal of the building, but this would "not occur earlier than 1983 and it could happen much later."

The General Development Plan contained three other major long-range proposals that required advance programming and further planning and design. These included:

1. The Rose Farm will be restored and developed as a tour stop and interpretive exhibit. . . . This farm includes the last major battle action site not open to the public.
2. The roadway around Devil's Den will be relocated out of this historic area. A new roadway will follow the electric railroad bed east from Brooke Avenue, then the road will curve south onto Confederate Avenue in the vicinity of the Big Round Top parking lot.

11. In June 1977 the Advisory Council on Historic Preservation prepared a report entitled, *A Plan to Preserve the Historic Resources of the Gettysburg Area of the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania*. The report proposed land acquisition to preserve the historic scene of the battle, and the Department of the Interior directed the Park Service to address the report's findings in its planning efforts. The report ultimately prompted the cleanup of Steinwehr Avenue.

3. A bypass connecting Taneytown Road to Baltimore Pike will be constructed to provide an alternative for local traffic during periods of high park visitation and congestion.

The plan proposed seven significant short-range actions intended to improve existing conditions in the park. While these actions were independent of the long-range plans for the park, they complemented the ultimate goals of those plans. These were:

1. The park is committed to the concept of a chronological tour, even on an interim basis and it will begin implementation as soon as the transition from the existing system can be made. . . . The new tour will originate at the Visitor's Center with the Cemetery being the first stop. The tour will then be routed through town via Washington Avenue to the Peace Memorial at which point the visitor will have the option of a supplementary tour of Barlow Knoll-Culp's Hill or continuing on the chronological tour. . . .
2. The Visitor Center will be rehabilitated. Bus tours with Licensed Battlefield Guides will be available from the Visitor Center.
3. Traffic will be rerouted on some park avenues, others which interfere with the historic scene will be closed off. Included for immediate action are Birney Avenue, around the Peach Orchard and Crawford Avenue at Devil's Den.
4. The park's maintenance facilities will be relocated to Guinn Woods.
5. The YCC Camp will also be relocated to the Guinn Woods.
6. A Reynolds Woods loop walk will be developed in the first day area.
7. The park's bicycle tour will be rerouted to better use the terrain and to respect one-way roads where the chronological tour's implementation has resulted in their reversal.

The General Development Plan proposed that the historic scene and atmosphere of the national cemetery be restored through recreating Saunder's intended landscaping plan, eliminating intrusions by vegetative screening on adjacent park lands and closing the cemetery to vehicular traffic during the peak visitor season. A shuttle would be used to afford access to the handicapped and elderly. It would be possible to close the cemetery as soon as the short-range chronological tour was instituted.¹²

12. U.S. Department of the Interior, National Park Service, *General Management Plan, Gettysburg National Military Park, National Cemetery - Pennsylvania* (Draft), May, 1977, pp. 51-9, DSC-TIC Files.

Response to the May 1977 draft was generally mixed – all of the plan's "controversial" issues were both supported and opposed. People writing in favor of the plan and its proposals tended to reside outside the local area, although some local people also supported the plan. Supporters of the plan tended to be motivated by their interest in the Civil War and that part of our American heritage preserved by the National Park System.

Most of the negative response to the plan or its proposals came from persons residing near the park. Opposition was expressed by commercial interests and licensed battlefield guides because changes in road directions and the closing of certain roads would affect their tour operations. Opposition was expressed by others because implementation of the plan would bring change to their daily lives. Other opposition was engendered by the proposed relocation of the visitor center which could have an adverse effect on business operations on Steinwehr Avenue. A small group of local residents opposed the plan because its implementation represented a major expenditure of public funds.

In response to the written comments received the National Park Service held a series of workshops in the fall of 1977 on three topics that were of particular concern to local residents. These issues were (1) the interim tour route; (2) relocation of the visitor center; and (3) closing the cemetery to vehicular traffic. Because of these meetings and public involvement over the next several years, the National Park Service modified some of its proposals, and the individuals who attended the meetings gained greater insight into the preservation issues the National Park Service must consider.¹³

After a 14-year effort the General Management Plan for Gettysburg National Military Park and National Cemetery was approved on December 1, 1982, by Mid-Atlantic Regional Director James W. Coleman, Jr. The plan addressed the park and cemetery in separate sections of the document. The General Management Plan was based on the most current revision of the park's management objectives as set forth in the Statement for Management. The management objectives defined the purpose of the park and established planning goals by providing a series of objectives that set forth the desired conditions in the park. The management objectives (a copy of which may be seen in Appendix T) were divided under nine topical headings – Preservation and Protection of Cultural Resources, Preservation and Protection of Natural Resources, Visitor Use, Interpretation, Access and Circulation, Development, Land Base, Cooperation, and Management.

13. U.S. Department of the Interior, National Park Service, *General Management Plan For Gettysburg National Military Park and Gettysburg National Cemetery*, December, 1982, p. 47.

Before outlining the plan's basic proposals the NPS planning team that prepared the document described the evolution of the process which culminated in the approved General Management Plan. The team observed:

The plan has evolved considerably over the years since 1969 when this current planning effort was initiated. With the help of public reviews and involvement, several proposals have been evaluated, then modified, dropped, reconsidered or retained. The earliest proposals were based on a projection of park visitation increasing to 7-8 million people per year. To accommodate these anticipated visitors, a circumferential road parkway system was proposed – along with a relocated tour center. The great numbers of people haven't come. . . .

A more modest proposal to relocate the tour center in conjunction with the construction of the Route 30 Bypass supplanted the earliest plan proposals. A relocated tour center would have solved many of the park's circulation and interpretive problems – and this alternative is still favored. But the bypass hasn't been built and it is not anticipated that it will be built within the foreseeable future. Therefore, the plan proposes actions which are intended to meet the park's basic mission and management objectives for the next 10 or 15 years. It focuses on making what improvements are possible without moving the park's visitor center.

The General Management Plan provided for management zoning of the park. Management zoning established future management emphasis for the lands of the park and cemetery (the management zoning map may be seen on the following page). The park and cemetery were both classified as being within the National Park Service historic management zone. Contained within the historic zone were five subzones that would provide the framework for managing the park's cultural and natural resources. The five subzones were:

1. The Preservation Subzone provides for the preservation and interpretation of historic sites, structures, and objects that are important because of their aesthetic value and/or their association with personages and events in history, and that merit full communication of such values to park visitors.
2. The Commemoration Subzone provides for the commemoration of historic personages and events through resources which, though historically associated with the subject of commemoration, do not date from the historic period. Lands so zoned contain memorials, monuments, tombstones, or other commemorative features to be used for commemorative activities.
3. The Development Subzone is concerned with the provision and maintenance of park development and serving the needs of park management and park visitors. The subzone includes areas where park development and/or intensive use substantially alter the natural environment or the historic setting. . . .

4. The Outstanding Natural Feature Subzone provides for public appreciation and interpretation of geological and ecological features possessing unusual intrinsic value.

5. The Special Use Zone provides for uses carried out by other government agencies or private interests on lands within exterior park boundaries. . . .

The plan stated that the "park's interpretive role" was "to facilitate the visitor's understanding and appreciation for one of the most significant and symbolic events in the Civil War." Hence the park would continue to:

- provide the self-guiding auto tour freefolder along with wayside interpretive panels and audio stations to present the basic outline of the Gettysburg story.
- maintain and develop opportunities for visitor participation in conducted walks and for attendance at special programs and films to add further dimension to the Gettysburg experience.
- provide the Electric Map and Cyclorama Painting (both of these park attractions charge an admission fee) to complement the park's free interpretive programs.

The plan dealt at length with problems involved with the battlefield tour and actions that should be taken to ameliorate those problems. The plan stated:

Many of the problems concerning the park's existing interpretive programs focus on the auto tour which, to a very large degree, serves and should continue to serve as the park's principal means of telling the Gettysburg story. Improved interpretation at Gettysburg points to the need to change the present non-chronological tour; since, for the visitor, part of a meaningful experience at the park is a coherent battlefield tour. The Battlefield guides, the bus tours and the commercial tape tour have been using a chronological approach to the battlefield for many years.

A tour route has been developed for the park which presents the battlefield in more chronological order; presenting the events of the first day, the Confederate story, the Second Day's Battle and finally the climax of the Third Day. . . .

The adoption of a more chronological tour will require a revised park brochure as well as new signing to accommodate the changes. A tour handbook will be developed and published as a sales item to make a more detailed presentation of the battlefield available. Revisions in the tour route and one-way roads will impact commercial interpretation of the battlefield.

The feasibility of guided bus tours originating at the visitor center will be examined as a future option for the battlefield tour. Mass transit tours of the battlefield available from the visitor center with Battlefield guides presenting the Gettysburg Story will be very informative and would help alleviate crowding along the tour route during the peak season, and would be an attractive alternative should gasoline shortages again become a problem. Adequate parking facilities would have to be provided to implement this program.

The plan made recommendations for the development and operational needs of the park. Among the development changes proposed were renovations to the cyclorama center and visitor center buildings, relocation or elimination of avenues in the vicinities of Culp's Hill, Devil's Den, and Barlow's Knoll, and redevelopment of the Devil's Den area. Administrative offices, maintenance support facilities, curatorial storage, and the park's amphitheater were to be relocated to a new facility which was to be constructed in the Fantasyland tract area (Guinn Woods) of the park.

The General Management Plan addressed the planning needs for the cemetery separately, "because of the limited scope of the cemetery's problems and their limited interrelationship with the remainder of the park." The management objectives for the cemetery, as set forth in the most recent Statement for Management, may be seen in Appendix U.

The General Management Plan proposed that two principal actions guide the development, preservation, and interpretation of the cemetery. Motor vehicles were to be excluded ultimately from the cemetery grounds, and preservation plans for the cemetery were to be in accordance with Saunders' original plans. Development of adjacent lands had created the need for vegetative screening on the perimeter of the cemetery.¹⁴

Following approval of the General Management Plan a team of professionals from the park, Mid-Atlantic Regional Office, and Harpers Ferry Center prepared a new Interpretive Prospectus for the park. The new prospectus replaced the one that had been in effect since 1968. The new prospectus, approved by Mid-Atlantic Regional Director Coleman on November 19, 1983, analyzed the planning considerations and interpretive objectives of the

14. *General Management Plan, Gettysburg National Military Park and National Cemetery, Pennsylvania*, December 1982, pp. 8, 49-71, 90-93.

park and developed a plan to implement those themes within the parameters established by the General Management Plan.¹⁵

PARK LAND ACQUISITION AND BATTLEFIELD PRESERVATION PROGRAMS

During the late 1960s the National Park Service initiated a park land acquisition program at Gettysburg designed to purchase land lying within the area enclosed by national park avenues. The first focus of this land acquisition program was in the vicinity of Emmitsburg Road and West Confederate Avenue. With assistance from the National Park Foundation and the Gettysburg Battlefield Preservation Association the National Park Service by May 1970 had spent some \$127,000 to purchase property and remove nonhistoric buildings and commercial structures in that area of the battlefield. In order not to disrupt the local tax base through government acquisition of taxable property, the NPS adhered to a policy of relocating such buildings where their value warranted it to sites off the battlefield. The Park Service also made it known that its land acquisition of taxable property, plans were based on the concept of "willing sellers."¹⁶

The continuing spread of "commercialism" and private development surrounding the park and cemetery at Gettysburg posed serious problems for NPS officials during the 1970s and early 1980s. An article in U.S. News & World Report on October 18, 1971, entitled "The Second Battle of Gettysburg," summarized the challenges facing the battlefield:

Around the rolling green fields where 50,000 Civil War soldiers were killed or wounded 108 years ago, a "second Battle of Gettysburg" – of a much different kind – is under way.

This time the conflict is over "commercialization" – private development of property surrounding the "hallowed ground" dedicated by President Lincoln after the famous battle in 1863.

Bordering the 3,100-acre Gettysburg National Military Park are fast-growing strips of motels, filling stations, quick-order restaurants, commercial museums and souvenir stands. Some 2,000 people work in the tourist industry in this city of 8,500.

15. U.S. Department of the Interior, National Park Service, Harpers Ferry Center, *Gettysburg NMP, Interpretive Prospectus*, November 29, 1983, pp. 7-9, DSC-TIC Files.

16. *Gettysburg Times*, May 22, July 9, 1970, Gettysburg Newspaper Clippings, 1970-1971, GNMP Library. In 1971 another organization, known as the Defenders of Gettysburg National Military Park, was formed by Gettysburg residents to preserve the natural, scenic, historic, and aesthetic values of Gettysburg National Military Park and Gettysburg National Cemetery.

Critics call the areas – where there are no zoning laws – "the shame of Gettysburg," and say commercial interests threaten the integrity of the park.¹⁷

Earlier that year Frederick Tilberg, who had recently retired from his position as historian at the park, analyzed the problems of private development near the battlefield and the Park Service's land acquisition plans to preserve the battlefield from such encroachments in a speech before the Adams County Historical Society. As to the conflict between private development and commercial growth at Gettysburg and the Park Service's preservation goals, he noted:

As long as certain historic land adjoining the Park remained in agricultural use and there appeared to be no likelihood of development for other use, such land was not included in plans for Park development. Publicity on a broad scale within the past three decades, associated with major battle anniversaries, the annual observance of various patriotic events, the visits of notable persons and the home selected by General and Mrs. Eisenhower, all have served to pin-point Gettysburg as a major tourist objective. . . .

The conflicting purposes of expanding business and industry on the one hand, and on the other, the forces of conservation, can lead either to an impasse, with a continuing undercurrent of antagonism toward the Park in its efforts to accomplish the objective of adequate land ownership defined in the act of Congress establishing the Park, or a sound and fair settlement for the borough and township governments, and the National Park. At the base of the issue, the tax-free land of existing government holdings and of its purpose to acquire additional land to complete its conservation objective is pitted against local government needs of additional income for operation with a minimum increase of taxation, already considered as burdensome.

In his speech Tilberg pinpointed the tracts that the Park Service needed to acquire for preservation of the battlefield. He observed:

The need for certain land becomes apparent when those tracts are related to the battle action that occurred thereon. Thus, the area north of Gettysburg adjacent to the Harrisburg and Carlisle Roads, essentially County Home land and parcels adjacent to Rock Creek over which General Early's 6,000 infantry, supported by Lieut. Colonel Jones' artillery battalion of 16 guns, struck General Howard's lines of similar strength centering at the present Barlow Knoll, is of major importance to the Military Park.

The concentration of General Johnson's large division at the western and southern bases of Benner's Hill, supported by the solid line of Major Latimer's artillery battalion on its crest during the attack directed at the Union lines on Culp's Hill, is likewise battleground of exceptional importance.

17. "The Second Battle of Gettysburg," *U.S. News & World Report*, LXXI (October 18, 1971), 66-67.

South of Gettysburg the Sherfy farm, identified closely with General Longstreet's charge against the Union lines at the Peach Orchard and the Emmitsburg Road; and the undeveloped land in the southern part of Colt Park, the left flank of Pickett's Charge over which Brockenbrough's brigade attacked, are equally important in the Park's program of preservation. In every step taken in the process of conservation, the Park Service directs its program of purchase mainly to a few large tracts of undeveloped land, and to several small properties in areas of maneuver and heavy battle action.

Thus property adjacent to the Emmitsburg Road in the southern part of the battlefield is sought for preserving the ground of the Longstreet attack, and still other property for the protection of the Eisenhower National Historic Site. Small tracts east and west of the Baltimore Pike are considered necessary not only for battleground preservation but also for construction of additional Park circulation avenues.¹⁸

In March 1973 a major controversy erupted at Gettysburg when plans were commenced to construct the Adams County Area Vocational-Technical School on a 13.5-acre site near Barlow's Knoll adjacent to the park, part of the historic Adams County Poor Farm and still owned by the county. The battle to prevent construction of the school became one of the most significant "adverse land use" cases of the park during the 1970s. The property in question was a high priority for acquisition by the National Park Service because of its historic significance. After a taxpayers' suit to block construction of the school was dismissed by an Adams County court judge in July 1973, the Advisory Council on Historic Preservation heard arguments on the relative merits of the case in October. On January 16, 1974, the Advisory Council informed the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare (HEW) that the proposed school facility would have an adverse impact on the park. When questions arose as to the precise position of the National Park Service regarding the controversy Superintendent Schober informed HEW officials:

. . . Since our position has been and is to acquire 110.5 acres of certain tracts of land in the Barlow Knoll area we have recognized the need to preserve a minimum of the Gettysburg Battlefield in this area. . . . The tract of land of approximately 13 acres proposed to be acquired from the Vo-Tech School Board is part of a tract offered to the National Park Service for purchase but due to the conditions placed on this particular land acquisition the parties concerned were not able to reach an amicable agreement. During this period, the 200 acres of the Battlefield initially owned by the County's Institutional District have been converted into a shopping center, a car dealership, a radio station, two elementary schools, and a bank facility. At present, the original public owned Adams County land of 200 acres of Battlefield is now reduced to 60 acres that can be preserved, with the Vo-Tech School Board holding 13.5

18. *Gettysburg Times*, March 3, 1971, and "The Case for Battlefield Conservation," March 2, 1971, Tilberg Files, Case for Battlefield Conservation, 1971, GNMP Library.

acres of the acres proposed to be acquired by the National Park Service under our land acquisition program. This and 7.5 acres of Adams County land was deemed to be a minimum by the Park Service; initially the Park recommended that the 39 acres between the Old Alms House land and Barlow's Knoll be preserved as the last means to enhance the historical significance of the land. The acreage was reduced by the Service to 21 acres, which was to be considered a minimum. . . . In order to preserve and interpret this part of the Battlefield the open space south of the Park's Howard Avenue should remain open, at least to the old Alms House lane. Construction of such a facility as the Vo-Tech School on this open land will forever destroy the Battlefield integrity in this area and eliminate interpretation of any substantive sequence of historical events. . . .

Insofar as preservation of the American Heritage at Gettysburg is concerned, the best possible land use for the area north of the old lane, now owned by Adams County and the Vo-Tech School Board, is Battlefield preservation by the National Park Service or by the National Park Service in conjunction with the State of Pennsylvania or with the County in a mutual effort to preserve the open historyscape so vitally important to interpretation of a battlefield – in this instance to a battlefield so vital to the American Story. South of the old lane the present low profile and low density land use as is now by the county Jail and Old Folks Home is the kind of use compatible to the visual and open space requirements of this land.¹⁹

The Gettysburg Battlefield Preservation Association supported the effort to prevent construction of the school. On March 25, 1974, the organization filed suit in U.S. District Court against HEW to withhold funds for construction until the department complied with federal statutes on historic preservation. Finally on April 23 the school board bowed to the pressure and ended the year-long conflict by terminating the proposed project.²⁰

In 1974 a major philosophic change was institutionalized in the land acquisition program at Gettysburg. Prior to that time the War Department and the National Park Service had both based their philosophy of land acquisition for the park on the Sickles Map and Establishing Act, providing for an aggregate area of 15,360 acres. As a result of an agreement hammered out under the auspices of a Senate committee in 1974 a 3,874-acre ceiling was established for the park. The agreement, which designated specific tracts for acquisition and eliminated the Sickles Map as the official boundary of the park, would guide the Gettysburg park land acquisition program for the next two decades.

19. Schober to Custard, January 23, 1974, Vertical Files, Adverse Land Use: Vo-Tech & County Land Controversy, GNMP Library.

20. Correspondence and materials relating to case in Vertical Files, Adverse Land Use: Vo-Tech & County Land Controversy, GNMP Library.

In his annual report for 1976 Superintendent Earnst discussed the status of the land acquisition program at Gettysburg. He observed:

The 3,874 acre Congressional limitation on the Park is now almost completed after 81 years of land acquisition. Of the 374 acres to be acquired, 159 acres are being appraised for purchase, leaving approximately 215 acres to be purchased in fee simple or scenic easement under the Park's Boundary Map program.

The most difficult acquisition is that of the 55 acres of public lands owned by Adams County. As of date, no satisfactory arrangement has been made to preserve and interpret these vital historic lands.

The present authorization does not provide for the acquisition of lands for a Park road corridor for access to the new visitor center from the proposed U.S. Route 30 Bypass.

One of the most disturbing land problems is that of the real possibility of the present open spaces within authorized boundaries being developed. This could be curtailed if condemnation action was initiated to acquire these lands now before they are developed.

In addition to these lands proposed to be acquired under the Park's authorized boundary and acreage limitations, there are several tracts in various areas that were found by the Draft Plan of the President's Advisory Council on Historic Preservation to be critical to the preservation and interpretation of the Battle of Gettysburg. On the First Day Battlefield, 132 acres should have scenic easements to protect the present historic and scenic open areas. In the Culp's Hill-Spangler's Spring area of the Second Day Battlefield, 5 acres should be acquired in fee simple and 86 acres in scenic easement. On the west of the field of Pickett's Charge, the Brown Farm of 226 acres or part of same should be under a scenic easement. At the East Cavalry Battlefield, where the Park holds 40 acres of the approximately 1700 acres identified in the National Register of Historic Places as a Historic District, a minimum of 498 acres should be acquired under scenic easements to preserve this most important site to the Battle of Gettysburg.²¹

The General Development Plan for Gettysburg that was prepared in May 1977 recommended that the park should take three actions relative to land acquisition. First, it should continue its existing program to acquire lands within the authorized boundary. Second, it should seek additional authority to acquire a right-of-way between the proposed tour center at the Cobean Farm location and the proposed U.S. Route 30 bypass. Third, it

21. Annual Report, Gettysburg National Military Park, March 9, 1977, n.p., Park Administrative Files, GNMP.

should continue to work with and encourage local governments to seek ways of preserving "critical areas" beyond the park's boundary while maintaining them on local tax roles.²²

The progress made in the land acquisition program at Gettysburg was described by Superintendent Earnst in his annual report for 1979. He noted:

The park's acquisition program has 51 tracts of acres to be acquired to complete its acreage of 3,874 acres authorized in 1895. The primary impact of these inholdings is that since most are residential and commercial, they have a most adverse effect on preservation and interpretation of the present 3,500 acres of the 12,000 acres battlefield. During 1979, 3.52 acres were acquired at a cost of \$249,265; in 1978 we acquired 71.29 acres for \$418,800, and in 1976 58.22 acres for \$627,460. Only one tract in Cumberland Township was acquired by condemnation – 1977. This township, like the others in which the park is located, has no zoning. This condemnation was to prevent a campground from intruding on Barlow's Knoll, a very historic site in the park.

During 1979, one former commercial property, a motel, was removed, three houses were relocated, one razed, and one burned by an unknown cause. The relocated houses were returned to the county tax rolls. Since 1971 eighteen houses have been returned to the tax rolls.²³

In April 1980 Mid-Atlantic Regional Director Coleman approved a Land Acquisition Plan for Gettysburg National Military Park. This plan was formulated in keeping with the NPS Revised Land Acquisition Policy published in the Federal Register on April 26, 1979 (44 FR 24790). The plan stated that the intent of the land acquisition program at Gettysburg was

. . . to acquire land within the approved boundaries of the Park when owners wish to sell their property through the willing-buyer/willing-seller method.

The National Park Service would not acquire land in any other manner unless necessary to prevent damage to park resources. The plan further stated:

Constantly changing land values, population growth, and concurrent residential and commercial developments in Cumberland Township will continue to exert great pressure on the preservation of land for National Park purposes at Gettysburg. The tracts identified in this Land Acquisition Plan are the minimum required to preserve the 3,874 acres authorized for the Battlefield in 1895. They do not, however, provide for a corridor to the proposed U.S. Route 30 Bypass.

22. *General Management Plan, Gettysburg National Military Park, National Cemetery – Pennsylvania*, May, 1977, pp. D 2-4.

23. Annual Report, Superintendent, Gettysburg National Military Park, March 13, 1980, p. 14, Park Administrative Files, GNMP.

Since only 13 acres of the 295 proposed to be acquired are undeveloped and omitting the 99 acre historic farm, the primary impact of inholdings at Gettysburg is residential and commercial. But, it is these tracts that have the most effect on preservation and interpretation of the Battle. Their continued use for these purposes prevents restoration of the historic scene.²⁴

By the end of 1982 the park held 3,608.63 acres within its authorized boundaries and 45.89 acres outside. During 1982 the park had acquired the remaining occupancy rights to the Cobean farm buildings through donation, and a number of nonhistoric structures, including the Peace Light Inn and the former Round Top Museum, were removed.²⁵

GETTYSBURG BATTLEFIELD TOWER CONTROVERSY

The controversy ensuing from the National Park Service's efforts to prevent commercial and residential development from threatening the Gettysburg battlefield was brought to a head by the construction of a 307-foot observation tower on private property adjacent to the battlefield. The well-publicized controversy over the tower's construction, which promised to be a blatant intrusion on the historic scene of the park and cemetery for years to come, became one of the principal political battles facing park management during the early 1970s.²⁶

The tower controversy had its genesis in December 1968 when a corporation with Leroy Smith as president was formed to erect an observation tower to overlook the battlefield. The existence of the corporation, however, was not public knowledge at first, nor did the National Park Service know about the project. In February 1970 Thomas R. Ottenstein of Silver Spring, Maryland, became an investor in Gettysburg Battlefield Tower, Inc., and later that spring he became its president, designating his wife as secretary-treasurer and his tax attorney as vice president. Ottenstein moved quickly, leasing from Smith a 100-x 100-foot site at 777 Baltimore Street in Gettysburg (near the Jennie Wade House on Cemetery Hill) for a

24. U.S. Department of the Interior, National Park Service, *Gettysburg National Military Park, Land Acquisition Plan*, April, 1980, pp. 1-10, and appendix D, pp. 1-5, Vertical Files, GNMP Library.

25. Annual Report, Superintendent, Gettysburg National Military Park, April 6, 1983, p. 5, Park Administrative Files, GNMP Library.

26. Unless otherwise cited material for this section was gathered from three principal sources: Harrison, "Log of Events Re To Park & Regional Planning and Tower Controversy at Gettysburg National Military Park," July 1976; John S. Oyler, "Pickett Charges, Everyone Else Pays: The Story of the Gettysburg Tower Controversy," Senior B.A. Thesis, Princeton University, 1972, pp. 1-322; and Roe, "The Second Battle of Gettysburg," pp. 1-64; GNMP Library.

tower site, contacting Balter Consultants for a 300-foot tower design, and hiring Communications Services of Mechanicsburg, Pennsylvania, for public relations. On July 22, 1970, Gettysburg officials issued a local building permit for the tower. Within forty working days after application the Federal Aviation Administration determined on August 31 that the tower would not be a hazard to air traffic and granted a permit for a 330-foot tower. Ottenstein and his representatives appeared before the Industrial Board of the Pennsylvania Department of Labor and Industry to request a commonwealth building permit, and plans were made to begin construction in the fall of 1970 with completion slated for spring 1971.

While plans for construction of the tower were proceeding, groups opposing the project began mobilizing their forces. A meeting of representatives of the Gettysburg Battlefield Tower, Inc., and NPS personnel was arranged by Congressman Goodling in Washington on August 4, 1970. NPS Director George B. Hartzog expressed strong disapproval of the tower, characterizing it as "an environmental insult" that would do violence to the historic town of Gettysburg.²⁷ Later on September 19 the *Gettysburg Times* published a letter written by Frank E. Masland, a retired industrialist from Carlisle, Pennsylvania, opposing the tower and including Hartzog's comments. This was the first public knowledge of the tower project.

During the remaining months of 1970 a number of other organizations and political interest groups registered their opposition to construction of the tower, among them being the Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission, Adams County Historical Society, Lincoln Fellowship of Pennsylvania, Pennsylvania Historical Association, Gettysburg Civil War Round Table, Gettysburg Battlefield Guides Association, Texas State Historical Society, Gettysburg Battlefield Preservation Association, and the Governor's (Pa.) Advisory Council on Natural Resources. A local committee of Gettysburg citizens was formed in October to seek local and national support for opposition to the tower.

Meanwhile, the Gettysburg Borough Council was cooperating with Ottenstein. In October the council informed the local citizenry that it was powerless to do anything about the tower, but in November it informed Ottenstein that it was willing to cooperate "in every way . . . compatible" with local and state legal requirements.

Meanwhile, negotiations were underway for an alternate site for the tower. On November 18 the *Gettysburg Times* reported that articles of agreement had been supposedly filed and recorded to convey a portion of Colt Park land (just north of the park boundary and

27. Chief, Office of Archeology and Historic Preservation to Director, August 4, 1970, WASO Park Archives.

the field of Pickett's Charge) to a construction firm for the tower. In fact, the transfer of the Colt Park property to Ottenstein at a cost of \$42,775 was not formally recorded until March 23, 1971.

Tentative approval of the tower was given by the Industrial Board on December 18, further fueling the controversy. On December 28 *Time* magazine published an article under the heading "This Hallowed Ground," quoting NPS Director Hartzog as saying, "of all the projects planned or carried out [at Gettysburg] this tower is the most monstrous." In January 1971 the solicitor's office of the Department of the Interior held that the tower project came within Section 106 of the National Historic Preservation Act of 1966, but tower opponents were disheartened in February when the President's Council on Environmental Quality announced that it would not intervene in the matter because there was no federal involvement.

By March 1971 new permits for the tower construction on the Colt Park site had been approved by the borough, commonwealth, and Federal Aviation Administration. Drilling began on the site immediately, and foundation work commenced in May.

The construction operations galvanized opposition to the project. In May the park staff contacted V.J. Yannacone, Jr., a nationally-known environmental lawyer, and he began planning for a public trust-type case for the federal courts. That same month Dr. John J. Tully and George W. Olinger, *et al.*, through their attorney Swope and Frazee, filed a class action suit in equity against Ottenstein. Articles of incorporation for the "Defenders of Gettysburg National Military Park" were prepared by five incorporators in mid-May.

On May 18 primary elections were held in Pennsylvania during which a constitutional amendment supported by tower opponents was approved. Article One of the commonwealth constitution was amended by addition of the following section:

Section 27. Natural Resources and the Public Estate – The people have a right to clean air, pure water, and to the preservation of the natural, scenic, historic and esthetic values of the environment. Pennsylvania's public natural resources are the common property of all the people, including generations yet to come. As trustee of these resources, the Commonwealth shall conserve and maintain them for the benefit of all the people.

During June and July 1971 Secretary of the Interior Rogers C. B. Morton and the Pennsylvania general assembly registered their opposition to the tower. On June 14 Morton informed Governor Milton Shapp of his intention to prevent completion of the tower:

One of the advertised attractions of the tower is that from it a person can see any part of the Gettysburg battlefield. The reverse, unfortunately, will also be true. From every point in the historic area the tower will dominate the scene. . . .

The most devastating effect of the tower, however, will be upon the integrity and character of the historic site, which includes three separate elements: the National Cemetery, the Eisenhower National Historic Site, and the Gettysburg National Historical Park. . . . Together, these three related sites constitute one of the most significant historical properties of the National Park System.

The tower will wholly dominate this historic scene and may well constitute the most damaging single intrusion ever visited upon a comparable site of American history.²⁸

Several weeks later on July 8 the general assembly passed a resolution stating that necessary steps should be taken to stop the tower.

After lengthy negotiations between NPS officials and Ottenstein an agreement was reached on July 2, 1971, whereby the site for the tower was moved from Colt Park to a location east of Taneytown Road that was preferred by Interior administrators. For his part Ottenstein agreed to donate five percent of the tower's "taxable income" to a nonprofit foundation established for charitable or historic preservation purposes and to convey the Colt Park site to the National Park Service. In turn the Park Service consented to provide a 22-foot vehicular and pedestrian right-of-way to the tower site over park land. Park Service spokesmen, in announcing the agreement, observed that it did not constitute Service approval of the tower but was consummated to minimize its adverse effects.²⁹

The Commonwealth of Pennsylvania, however, continued to oppose construction of the tower. In late July Governor Shapp appeared in Gettysburg to file action in Adams County Court to block construction, based on the commonwealth's new environmental amendment. On August 3 hearings began in an action in equity by the *Commonwealth of Pennsylvania vs. National Gettysburg Battlefield Tower, Inc.*, in the Adams County Court of

28. Morton to Shapp, June 14, 1971, WASO Park Archives.

29. Department of the Interior, National Park Service, News Release, Gettysburg Tower Site Moved Away From Battlefield Center, July 11, 1971, WASO Park Archives. Also see Associate Solicitor, Parks and Recreation to Director, National Park Service, July 13, 1971, WASO Park Archives. The NPS could not accept an exchange of the lands since the Colt Park site was not included in the 1974 Senate committee-generated boundary for the park. As a result the tract was turned over to the National Park Foundation, a non-profit organization chartered by Congress to channel citizen support into the programs and activities of the National Park System. Supported solely by private contributions the foundation, among other things, acquires and protects vital tracts of parklands and historic sites.

Common Pleas. On October 6 the commonwealth's objections to the tower were dismissed, while the constitutionality of the environmental amendment was upheld. The construction permits had all been consummated before the environmental amendment was approved by the commonwealth. This was the judicial technicality that permitted the ultimate completion of the observation tower.³⁰

The National Park Service referred the agreement with Ottenstein to the Advisory Council on Historic Preservation for comment on January 24, 1972,³¹ and the Department of the Interior submitted its report on the tower issue to the Advisory Council on April 1. In concluding its evaluation of the undertaking the department discussed the effect of the project and the efforts it had taken to minimize the effect of the tower on the battlefield:

A tower at any location in the vicinity of Gettysburg National Battlefield Park will have an adverse effect on the park area. The height of the proposed structure is out of scale with the historic structures and monuments of the battlefield. In fact the character and height of the tower is out of keeping with the farming countryside of the battlefield and the rural townscape of the Borough of Gettysburg. This inconsistency with the historic scene is one which will exist no matter where the observation tower might be located in the vicinity of the battlefield. Therefore, the Department of the Interior and the National Park Service cannot sanction the construction of such a tower and no action on their part should be so construed as being supportive of this proposal. . . .

At the outset, we wish to register this caveat. The tower is a private venture which could conceivably be located on any adjacent tract owned by a willing seller. The height of the tower is such that its utility is not predicated upon a single location or conversely diminished in value by placement at one of several locations. . . .

We believe the Department of the Interior has reduced the adverse effect of the proposed observation tower by its undertaking. We conclude this on the basis of reconnaissance studies initiated in the interest of locating the least intrusive location for the tower. These studies compared the visual impact of the tower at the two locations from historic vantage points of the battlefield. Factors taken into account were: (1) distance removed from vantage point and consequent variation in the appearance of mass height, and transparency of the tower; (2) introduction of screening by reason of vegetation and terrain features; (3) relationship of the tower location to the historic line of site. From most primary viewpoints it was observed that the adverse visual effect would

30. Excerpts from Opinion of Common Pleas Judge John A. MacPhail in *Commonwealth of Pennsylvania vs. National Gettysburg Battlefield Tower, Inc.*, October 6, 1971, in National Gettysburg Battlefield Tower, pp. 55-58, WASO Park Archives.

31. Reed to Stevens, January 24, 1972, WASO Park Archives.

be reduced. From several viewpoints the effect was unchanged. A major point in determining reduced adversity was the removal of the tower location from the left flank of Pickett's charge to a less prominent and less popular site.

On balance then, it is felt that the new location (Stonehenge Site) made part of the agreement and land exchange was less objectionable than the previous site (Colt Park).³²

The Office of the Attorney General of the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania submitted a report to the Advisory Council on April 20, 1972. The report concluded in part:

Without question, the tower would be a monumental intrusion upon three National Register properties and would compromise if not obliterate the very nature and purpose of maintaining these sites. On the approach roads to Gettysburg from any direction, the first thing a visitor would see is not the battlefield, not the cemetery, not the Eisenhower farm, but the tower. The tower would be visible from virtually every segment of the Gettysburg National Military Park and would literally cast its shadow across the National Cemetery. No amount of trees, shrubbery, or landscaping would minimize the visual impact of the tower. . . .

A thorough assessment of the impact that the Gettysburg tower would have upon the Gettysburg area must consider more than the tower's horrendous visual impact. The Gettysburg tower has become a symbolic issue in the fight for restoration and preservation of the Gettysburg area. . . .³³

The Advisory Council held public hearings on the tower issue at Gettysburg on May 3-4. Following the hearings the council issued a report recommending that the Department of the Interior explore legal strategies to stop construction of the tower. The report concluded:

The Council has determined that the construction of a tower in the vicinity of Gettysburg National Military Park, Gettysburg National Cemetery, and Eisenhower Farm National Historic Site will have an adverse effect. Accordingly, the Council looks unfavorably upon the consequences of the agreement negotiated by the Department of the Interior. Rather than attempt to minimize the effect in this instance, the Council recommends that the Department of the Interior explore appropriate legal remedies to stop construction at this site and any other site proposed in the future.

32. Department of the Interior, Report to the Advisory Council on Historic Preservation, The Proposed Observation Tower at Gettysburg National Military Park: A Description and Evaluation of the Undertaking, April 1, 1972, WASO Park Archives.

33. Creamer to President's Advisory Council on Historic Preservation (and enclosure), April 20, 1972, WASO Park Archives.

The Council further recommends that the Department of the Interior immediately advise the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania that the agreement with the National Gettysburg Battlefield Tower, Inc., and Mr. Thomas R. Ottenstein was in no sense an approval of the tower at the Stonehenge Site or any other site, and that it do everything it can to assist the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania in its legal action to stop the construction of a tower at Gettysburg.³⁴

Meanwhile, the commonwealth court to which the Adams County court decision (*Commonwealth of Pennsylvania vs. National Gettysburg Battlefield Tower, Inc.*) of October 6, 1971, had been appealed referred the tower case back to the lower court. On July 27, 1972, the lower court reaffirmed its original opinion. The court held that "the burden of protecting this town, this community and this national shrine is not a judicial function" and "must be discharged by those empowered by law to provide such protection." The court held that the NPS agreement with Ottenstein lent approval to the tower and "sanctioned" its construction and that the Advisory Council recommendations were irrelevant.

Construction of the foundation of the tower commenced on November 7, 1972, as per the aforementioned agreement. As construction began the state appealed the Adams County court decision to the commonwealth court. In April 1973 that court rejected the state's appeal. The state then appealed the case to the Pennsylvania Supreme Court which ruled on October 4 in a 5-2 decision to permit completion of the tower. The dissenting judges ruled, however, that the commonwealth had provided "compelling" evidence that "the tower would destroy the environment at Gettysburg," and thus "brushed aside the will of the people of Pennsylvania who, on May 18, 1971, overwhelmingly approved an amendment to the state Constitution."³⁵

Construction of the \$3,500,000 tower continued amid charges that improper and illegal political pressure had been exerted to finalize the July 2, 1971, agreement. In a civil suit filed in U.S. District Court in Washington, D.C., on December 17, 1973, the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania listed a five-count complaint against Interior Secretary Morton, NPS Director Ronald H. Walker, and Ottenstein, charging that the right-of-way agreement was granted illegally and obtained through "coercive political influence." Moreover, an environmental impact statement had not been filed prior to the agreement, thus preventing the Advisory

34. Shipley to Morton (and enclosed report), May 8, 1972, WASO Park Archives. Also see Dorn C. McGrath, Jr., "A Proposed Observation Tower Overlooking the Gettysburg National Military Park: Review of the Proposed Undertaking and Evaluation of Its Probable Effects, Report to the Advisory Council on Historic Preservation," April 1972, WASO Park Archives.

35. *Philadelphia Inquirer*, October 5, 1973, WASO Park Archives.

Council from commenting on the issue prior its consummation. The federal court dismissed the complaints on October 1, but issued a formal request for Morton to explain the failure of the Interior Department to issue an environmental impact statement prior to granting the right-of-way.³⁶

While this case was still in court the tower was formally opened to the public amid great publicity on July 29, 1974. The opening of the tower quickly attracted the attention of the national press. One example of the press reaction to the tower was an article in *Newsweek* on December 9, 1974:

The Battle of Gettysburg raged over rolling Pennsylvania hills for three days in 1863, turning the tide of the Civil War. More than a century later, most of the smoke has cleared after Gettysburg's second major battle – fought this time with editorials and lawsuits – and the winner is a controversial tourist attraction called the *National Gettysburg Battlefield Tower, Inc.* Rising 307 feet and strategically situated just beyond the battleground's official boundary, the commercial tower has become an unavoidable part of Gettysburg's historyscape, as the National Park Service proudly refers to the battle area that was immortalized by Abraham Lincoln's Gettysburg Address.

Government officials and an indignant army of historians and environmentalists fought the tower as an eyesore, but builder Thomas R. Ottenstein prevailed in the courts and opened his \$2.5 million edifice last July. Thousands of tourists have been paying \$1.35 to ride up the tower elevator for a tape-recorded battle lecture, plus a view that extends far beyond the battle sites. . . .³⁷

The tower controversy reinforced the long-held belief by battlefield preservationists that the park's surroundings were almost as important in maintaining the desired ambience at Gettysburg as the park lands themselves. On March 18, 1975, the Gettysburg Battlefield Historic District, comprising more than 11,000 acres of the 20,000-acre battlefield, was designated and entered on the National Register of Historic Places.³⁸

36. *Washington Post*, October 27, December 19, 1973, May 10, 1974, and *Baltimore Sun*, June 28, 1974, WASO Park Archives.

37. "Hallowed Ground, Inc.," *Newsweek*, LXXXIV (December 9, 1974), 16A.

38. William C. Davis, *Gettysburg: The Story Behind The Scenery* (Las Vegas, Nevada, 1983), p. 45.

ACQUISITION OF GETTYSBURG NATIONAL MUSEUM

One of the most prominent sites to be acquired by the park during the early 1970s was that of the Gettysburg National Museum. In May 1971 the George D. Rosensteel family, long-time owners of the museum, sold the building and a 6.7-acre tract on which it was located to the federal government for \$2,350,000. The structure housed the world-famous Gettysburg Electric Map (which had been opened to the public in 1939) and more than 20,000 artifacts in the Inventory and Weapon Relic Collection (collected over a 107-year period by members of the Rosensteel family) which were donated to the United States by the Rosensteels. The 6.7-acre tract was located across the street from the national cemetery and adjacent to the park visitor center, thus permitting addition of badly-needed visitor parking and contact facilities. Under the terms of the purchase the Rosensteel family operated the museum until October 1, 1973, at which time the National Park Service assumed control of its operation.³⁹

In 1974 the museum building was redesignated the Park Visitor Center and the former visitor center was designated the Cyclorama Center. Plans were completed to renovate the lobby of the old museum building to make it more accessible and bring it up to NPS standards.⁴⁰

Acquisition of the museum and artifact collection led to significant maintenance and preservation responsibilities for the National Park Service. In 1974 the Division of Museum Services, Harpers Ferry Center prepared a Collection Management Plan to provide data for park personnel to establish and implement an exhibit and storage maintenance plan.⁴¹

In August 1979 a team consisting of personnel from the Mid-Atlantic Regional Office, the park, and the Harpers Ferry Center developed a Gettysburg Electric Map Prospectus. The document outlined several alternatives for improvement of the map and its presentation. The alternatives were to meet four criteria: any new program must have high reliability;

39. Department of the Interior, Office of the Secretary, News Release, Secretary Morton Announces Purchase of Gettysburg National Museum, May 19, 1971, WASO Park Archives.

40. Superintendent, Gettysburg to Regional Director, Mid-Atlantic Region, January 25, 1974, p. 7, Park Administrative Files, GNMP. Later in 1980 extensive work was carried out in the Visitor Center to improve its usefulness as the Park Visitor Center. See U.S. Department of the Interior, National Park Service, Denver Service Center, *Assessment of Alternatives for Development Concept Plan, Visitor Center and Cyclorama Center, Gettysburg National Military Park, Pennsylvania*, July, 1978, in DSC-TIC files, for more data on this subject.

41. U.S. Department of the Interior, National Park Service, Harpers Ferry Center, Division of Museum Services, *Gettysburg Collection Management Plan*, [1974], DSC-TIC Files.

significant improvements, not just minor changes were to be accomplished; the existing, successful portions of the presentation were not to be compromised; and the maximum program length was not to exceed twenty minutes. The program's sound and lighting were automated and some minor changes were made in the text of the presentation. The map was refurbished under contract, its field and woodland patterns being painted to enhance its visual effectiveness and eliminate the perceived uniformity and two-dimensional flatness of its surface.⁴²

PARK INTERPRETIVE OPERATIONS

Interpretive programs continued to constitute a significant part of the park operations at Gettysburg during the 1970-82 period. A resume of the interpretive programs at the park during 1972 as found in the superintendent's annual report, for instance, contained the following information:

A total of 897,000 people entered the Visitor Center in 1972; 325,000 viewed the Cyclorama painting, and more than 125,000 saw the film "From These Honored Dead." Over 85,000 school children saw the programs in the Visitor Center and toured the battlefield.

Two new interpretive programs were developed and presented in 1972; a Civil War period mounted cavalryman, and a special presentation "Women in the Crisis." These programs complemented the regular scheduled talks on the field, and are part of an expanded Living Interpretation program which also includes a uniformed Civil War soldier. Almost 40,000 people saw these programs; many returning more than once. The "Women in the Crisis" talk was planned and carried out by the female seasonal staff.

Scheduled programs are offered hourly every day during the summer months at the following locations:

Little Round Top
Eternal Light Peace Memorial
Gettysburg National Cemetery
The Angle

Attendance at these talks, 15-20 minutes in length, totaled 75,000.

Each evening during the summer months, a program is offered at the Amphitheater. Included is a slide talk on "Eisenhower at Gettysburg" and a

42. U.S. Department of the Interior, National Park Service, *Gettysburg Electric Map Prospectus*, August, 1979, DSC-TIC Files.

film entitled "The Battle of Gettysburg." More than 20,000 visitors took advantage of the nightly presentations.

An important part of the overall interpretive effort [are the] special tours given by Park personnel. In 1972, 30 such tours were given to more than 1,000 people.

The licensed guides, supervised by the National Park Service, gave 3,100 bus tours and 10,500 auto tours during the year for almost 420,000 visitors.⁴³

In his annual report for 1973 Superintendent Schober noted that an "old fashioned interpretive program at Gettysburg changed markedly this year." He went on to observe:

Five special "live" programs were developed for 74,468 school children who visit the Park. During the spring of 1973, 15 presentations were made and the basis for this coming season's program established. Seasonal interpreters presented programs to 289,629 people, giving 3,000 programs. In addition to nightly campfire programs, hourly talks at four battlefield locations, and a Civil War Soldier living history program, seasonals gave: a new two-hour walk twice each week; a Cavalry living history program in full costume on horse four days each week; an hourly schedule of "Women in the War" living history programs, and in August a regularly scheduled walk to the High Water Mark of the Gettysburg battle. Previously Labor Day ended Gettysburg's live interpretive program. With the help of four seasonals, who donated their time and two high school VIP's, we gave living history programs each week-end until November.⁴⁴

Interpretive operations at Gettysburg continued to be expanded and improved during the late 1970s and early 1980s. In his resume of interpretive operations for 1982, for instance, Superintendent Earnst observed:

There was a definite increase in the number of people participating in ranger conducted programs. At its peak, the staff included 12 seasonal aides and technicians, a Junior Fellowship Student, and seven permanent staff members. During the year 2,334 programs were presented to 61,184 visitors by park interpreters. In addition, through a donation from Eastern National Park and Monument Association, the Granite Farm was reopened to interpret the effect of war on civilians for 9,328 people. In all, program participation increased to 70,512, up 48% from 1981. Guided tours of the National Cemetery were presented to 18,174 people, up 7% from the previous year. High Water Mark Walks for 18,747 represented a 31% increase. Stationary talks were given 6

43. Annual Report, Superintendent, Gettysburg National Military Park, January 22, 1973, Park Administrative Files, GNMP.

44. Annual Report, Superintendent, Gettysburg National Military Park, January 25, 1974, n.p., Park Administrative Files, GNMP.

times each day at Little Round Top to a total of 13,752. This 200% increase is in large part due to presenting the program as costumed interpretation twice weekly. . . . Special interest topics were covered in programs offered 6 times daily at Meade's Headquarters. Subjects addressed included Civil War Soldier, Women and the War, Communications, Noncombatants in the War, Artillery, and Civil War Medicine. Participation in these programs was up 84% to 6,351, but the low average number of visitors per presentation (15) may rule them out for 1983. Participation also increased on the extended walking tours interpreting the action and participants at Pickett's Charge, The Valley of Death, The First Day, and East Cemetery Hill.⁴⁵

PARK HISTORIC PRESERVATION PROGRAM

Historic preservation programs continued to be a prime concern of park management at Gettysburg during the 1970s and early 1980s. Examples of such projects during the early 1970s were reconstruction of the Bryan house in 1972 and restoration of the Moses McClean house in 1972-75. During the 1976-80 period the park's historic preservation crew completed an extensive rehabilitation of the Codori and Culp barns, restored the McPherson barn to its 1863 appearance, and rehabilitated the Sherfy house and barn and Rose farm wash house. Restoration of the Rose house was commenced in 1981, and restoration of the national cemetery wall continued during 1978-82.

In 1978 a ten-year monument restoration program was initiated by contracting with Karkadoulis Bronze Art Company of Cincinnati to restore five monuments. The project required the monuments to be cleaned by the glass bead peening method, patinated, and treated for anti-corrosion. It was noted in 1979 that problems with the monuments in the park stemmed from lack of a cyclic maintenance program of the monuments' corrosion inhibitor, deterioration of their grouting, and the effects of air pollution.

The restoration and reconstruction activities in the park were aided in 1973 by conversion of the former Round Top Museum into the Round Top Preservation Shop. Later in 1981 a new carpenter shop was completed in the maintenance area, and the Round Top Museum building was removed in 1982.⁴⁶

45. Annual Report, Superintendent, Gettysburg National Military Park, April 6, 1983, p. 9, Park Administrative Files, GNMP.

46. Annual Reports, Superintendent, Gettysburg National Military Park, January 22, 1973, p. 5; January 25, 1974, p. 4; February 11, 1976, n.p.; March 9, 1977, n.p.; March 13, 1980, p. 14; March 17, 1981, p. 13; April 6, 1982, pp. 4-5; and April 6, 1983, p. 7; Park Administrative Files, GNMP. More data on the park monument restoration (continued...)

PARK SPECIAL USE PERMITS

The National Park Service continued its long-standing practice of issuing special use permits for farming/pasture use at Gettysburg during the 1970s. In 1972, for instance, eight new permits were issued. All permits were renegotiated that year to provide a uniform fee schedule comparable to private lands being rented for farming or pasture purposes. In addition, standards and controls for monitoring and enforcing the program were established. A total of 780 acres was under cultivation and 568 acres were under pasture. The fee for rented park land for pasture was raised to \$3.00 per acre and that for cropland to \$5.00 per acre.⁴⁷

During the early 1970s the National Park Service consulted with the Soil Conservation Service to determine what it could do, in cooperation with its tenant farmers, to alleviate the drainage problems, erosion, and low fertility of the soil. Based on recommendations by that agency, the Park Service in 1972 began constructing shallow diversion ditches or grassed waterways on lands that were being eroded because of improper drainage. Later tile drain lines were commenced on the farms. Crop rotation and contour strip farming practices were also initiated, and soil samples were taken to determine the need for fertilizer and lime.⁴⁸

In 1976 the park began to hold annual meetings for the agricultural permittees and the park staff. Guest speakers were invited from the Soil Conservation Service and the Adams County Extension Service in the effort to improve the agricultural program at Gettysburg.⁴⁹

In 1981 Superintendent Earnst reported that the special use permits at Gettysburg had been reviewed and updated. There were 54 active special use permits in the park, primarily for utility lines, and school and private access right-of-ways. Twelve local farmers held 18 agricultural special use permits, covering 2,241 acres of Gettysburg National Military Park and

46.(...continued)

program may be found in Susan P. Staggers, ". . . As Long As Bronze and Granite Lasts . . . Their Memory Will Remain Forever Green . . .", "August 18, 1979, Tilberg Files, Monuments, General Information, GNMP Library. Insights into the role that archeology played in these preservation efforts were provided to the author by David Orr, MARO regional archeologist, during a personal interview in Philadelphia on March 21, 1985.

47. Annual Report, Superintendent, Gettysburg National Military Park, January 22, 1973, p. 6, Park Administrative Files, GNMP.

48. Annual Reports, Superintendent, Gettysburg National Military Park, January 22, 1973, p. 6, and March 9, 1977, n.p., Park Administrative Files, GNMP.

49. Annual Report, Superintendent, Gettysburg National Military Park, March 13, 1980, pp. 7-8, Park Administrative Files, GNMP.

Eisenhower National Historic Site. Three historical agricultural fields were to be returned to agricultural production for the first time since the 1890s. The superintendent restated the purpose of the agricultural special use permit program to be maintenance of "park lands in a similar condition to that of 1863 at little cost to the National Park Service."⁵⁰

PARK NATURAL RESOURCE MANAGEMENT PROGRAM

The primary activity in landscape management during the early 1970s was the acceleration of the park "historyscape restoration program." This effort involved opening those fields that were open historically and restoration of historic stone, post and rail, and Virginia worm fences.

Other landscape management programs of the early 1970s included design of a mowing plan to better utilize available manpower and comply with the vegetative cover plan for the park and removal of nonhistoric structures. In 1973, for instance, 26 such structures were removed from six sites with four of the sites being graded to conform to historic land contours.⁵¹

Landscape management continued to be a major concern of park management during the late 1970s and early 1980s as evidenced by the addition of a natural resource specialist to the park staff in 1980. In 1976, for instance, guidelines for a vegetation removal project were compiled, but lack of funds for manpower and heavy equipment rental limited the amount of work that could be accomplished on the 250 acres proposed for vegetative elimination.⁵² During the spring of 1980 extensive clearing projects were carried out in the Devil's Den and Little Round Top areas.

50. Annual Report, Superintendent, Gettysburg National Military Park, April 6, 1982, p. 9, Park Administrative Files, GNMP.

51. Annual Report, Superintendent, Gettysburg National Military Park, January 25, 1974, pp. 3-4, Park Administrative Files, GNMP.

52. Annual Report, Superintendent, Gettysburg National Military Park, March 9, 1977, n.p., Park Administrative Files, GNMP. In December 1977 a report on the restoration of historic vegetation lines at Gettysburg was prepared under contract by Todd W. Bowersox, Larry H. McCormick, and Donald N. Thompson. This report, together with its revised edition of February 1978, would serve as the basis for the historic vegetation restoration program in the park. "Restoration of Historic Vegetation Lines at the Gettysburg National Military Park: A Consulting Report," by Todd W. Bowersox, Larry H. McCormick, Donald N. Thompson, December 1977 (Rev. ed. February, 1978), GNMP Library.

During the winter of 1978-79 research was completed on restoration of the Peach Orchard. In May 1979 initial planting of three acres of this orchard was accomplished through the joint efforts of park personnel and the Vocational Agriculture Department of Biglerville High School, the latter organization agreeing to plant and care for the orchard over a three-year period.

Other natural resource management programs in 1979 included commencement of a vegetation removal program to convert thirty acres of timber and non-crop land to agriculture and pasture. Fencing was completed on the Little Round Top pasture, and in November twenty cows were placed in the pasture on a year-round basis to help control regrowth of cut vegetation. A new mowing plan was completed in cooperation with personnel from the Pennsylvania State University School of Forestry that called for eventual conversion of seventy acres of mowed areas to agriculture.⁵³

In 1980 over forty acres of timber, brush, and other non-farming lands were converted to agriculture. Some of the larger areas were the Knox Motel property, the Peace Light Inn fields, and the Whitman tract. Many old fence lines that had grown into brushy screens were cleared and the stumps removed. Additional mow areas were converted to agriculture during the year, and crop areas were mowed to within eleven feet of the paved roads. A reforestation and screen planting program was commenced in April and May with 2,000 trees planted. This program was continued in 1981 when 2,750 tree seedlings were planted in eight different locations to screen out modern developments adjacent to park property.⁵⁴

A Natural Resource Management Plan was completed in 1981 for Gettysburg National Military Park. This was the first such plan ever completed for Gettysburg. Natural Resource Action Plans (Soil Conservation Plans) were also completed for some of the historic farm units.

The Natural Resources Management Plan was one component of the Resources Management Plan (RMP) for the park. Thus, its objectives were tailored to dovetail with the purposes of the other component of the RMP, the Cultural Resources Management Plan. The introduction of the Natural Resources Management Plan stated its purpose and objectives:

53. Annual Report, Superintendent, Gettysburg National Military Park, March 13, 1980, pp. 6-7, Park Administrative Files, GNMP.

54. Annual Report, Superintendent, Gettysburg National Military Park, March 17, 1981, p. 11, Park Administrative Files, GNMP.

The primary purpose of the Natural Resources Management Plan at Gettysburg National Military Park is to restore, maintain, and perpetuate as closely as possible the historic scene and character that existed on this battlefield in July of 1863. A reasonable understanding of the events which occurred here cannot be achieved by visitors unless the landscape is accurately portrayed.

Natural systems are not static but are dynamic and constantly changing. To recapture or maintain the July 1863 scene requires continual monitoring and intensive management of these natural systems to prevent the natural succession which in this area would eventually lead to a dense, climax, hard wood forest. Such a forest would not represent the historic scene we are charged with preserving and it would be impossible to clearly interpret the battle, the historic scene or the commemorative purpose for which this Park was established.

We use practices such as clear cutting of shrubs and trees; agricultural activities that include plowing, tilling and mowing, continuous livestock grazing on non-tillable lands; use of historic woodlot management; pesticides (biocides), and reforestation. Vegetative screening is used to conceal modern intrusions where necessary, and wildlife is controlled where unreasonable damage occurs to agricultural crops, cultural resources are threatened, or where it may endanger safety or health. Although we manage our natural resources primarily for their historic values, we cannot ignore or fail to mitigate, as much as possible, the effects of our management programs on the ecological welfare of these natural resources. . . .

Once the battlefield was restored to its 1863 condition and appearance, the NPS, according to the plan, intended to maintain it that way indefinitely through a low-cost Agricultural Special Use permit program.⁵⁵

PARK WILDLIFE MANAGEMENT PROGRAM

During the 1970s the populations of the deer herd and other mammals at Gettysburg continued to grow, thus causing harm to the park's cultural and natural resources and the agricultural operations of the park's tenant farmers. As a result of these problems a wildlife control and management program was instituted during 1981 in the effort to reduce such damage. Wildlife observations were recorded by a number of park employees and provided information on population numbers not known before. In addition planning meetings were

55. U.S. Department of the Interior, National Park Service, "(Draft) Resources Management Plan, Gettysburg National Military Park and Gettysburg National Cemetery (Natural Resources Management Plan)," October 29, 1981, p. 1, DSC-TIC Files.

held at Gettysburg on a research effort, involving two universities and two federal agencies, to study the park's black and turkey vultures.⁵⁶

PARK ENVIRONMENTAL EDUCATION PROGRAM

The National Park Service responded to the emerging national concern for environmental education in the 1970s by developing programs that pertained to the interrelationship of man and his environment. As part of its National Environmental Education Development program the NPS designated two Environmental Study Areas (ESA) at Gettysburg for class field trips in 1970. The two areas, one in the Big Round Top area and the other in the Culp's Hill-Rock Creek vicinity, were to be "laboratories" where students could "learn not only how the environment affected the Battle of Gettysburg, but how their everyday lives are involved with everything around them." Culp's Hill was chosen for the program because of its close proximity to the Gettysburg area school complex. Big Round Top would be available for visitor use during the summer as well as classwork sessions during the school term.⁵⁷

In 1972 the park began preparing the historic Slyder (Granite) Farm near Big Round Top for agricultural activities in which school groups could participate. This "living history farm" was in keeping with the ESA theme, "Man and the Land at Gettysburg." The farm was operated with a farmer caring for selected livestock, opening fields, building fences, and repairing farm buildings.⁵⁸

The development of the Round Top ESA progressed in 1975 with the commissioning of a teacher's guide to be ready for testing in early 1976. That year park interpreters conducted eight programs for 490 students at the Granite Farm.⁵⁹

56. Annual Report, Superintendent, Gettysburg National Military Park, April 6, 1982, p. 9, Park Administrative Files, GNMP.

57. Gettysburg National Military Park, News Release, "The Park As A Classroom," February 10, 1970, Press Releases – Park Info. Handouts, GNMP Library.

58. Annual Report, Superintendent, Gettysburg National Military Park, January 22, 1973, n.p., Park Administrative Files, GNMP.

59. Annual Report, Superintendent, Gettysburg National Military Park, February 11, 1976, n.p., Park Administrative Files, GNMP.

PARK LAW ENFORCEMENT PROGRAM

Law enforcement at Gettysburg faced new challenges during the 1970s and early 1980s. For instance, demonstrations against the Vietnam War were held in the park and cemetery from time to time, prompting park officials at times to prepare contingency riot control plans in cooperation with the FBI, state police, and local police.

In 1972 the park employed its two horses extensively for mounted patrols. The horses were found to be efficient in handling large events such as the annual Memorial Day ceremonies and for covering the activities of the groups demonstrating in the park. The horses also enabled the park rangers to provide much broader coverage of the park during the hunting season.

Park statistics show that during 1972 park rangers issued 95 written warnings and 76 citations for various violations. Fines imposed amounted to \$1,542. There were 24 vehicle accidents during the year, resulting in five persons injured and \$7,620 in property damage.⁶⁰

Throughout the 1972-82 decade the park attempted to emphasize training in law enforcement for its rangers as they faced the challenges of increasing visitation and criminal activity. Efforts were also undertaken to acquire and install standardized equipment in all park patrol vehicles and prepare chapters on law enforcement procedures for the park operations handbook. In 1982, for instance, training for protection personnel included forty hours of law enforcement for all permanent rangers and approximately thirty-two hours for seasonal technicians. During that year park rangers investigated a total of 7,503 incidents, including 730 case incidents, 6,000 verbal warnings, 525 courtesy tags, 195 citations, and 53 MVAs. Incidents of larceny, burglary, and vandalism totaled 44, down slightly from the 1981 totals due in part to employment of seasonal technicians in the Visitor Center and Cyclorama Center parking lots. The preventive efforts of park technicians in both lots resulted in about 100 fewer parking citations issued and no recreational vehicle burglaries during the summer.⁶¹

60. Annual Report, Superintendent, Gettysburg National Military Park, January 22, 1973, pp. 3-4, Park Administrative Files, GNMP.

61. Annual Report, Superintendent, Gettysburg National Military Park, April 6, 1983, pp. 17-18, Park Administrative Files, GNMP.

PARK RESEARCH PROGRAM

Research continued to be of importance to park management at Gettysburg during the 1970s and early 1980s. A variety of historical, biological, and wildlife studies were prepared in cooperation with park personnel during the mid-1970s. One of the largest research projects to be conducted during this period was the List of Classified Structures in 1975-76.⁶²

Kathleen R. Georg Harrison, who became park historian in 1974, conducted much of the NPS research at Gettysburg during this period. In March 1980, for instance, Superintendent Earnst reported:

Most of our research work is in support of 106 Effect Reports that are compiled for various Park, Cemetery, and Eisenhower projects. One of the most detailed was the 194-page study of "The Development and Care of the Soldiers' National Cemetery Enclosure at Gettysburg." This study is the historical and architectural basis of on-going restoration of the cemetery's stone walls and iron fences. Another research project was compiled to support our "Restoration of Historic Vegetation in the Little Round Top Area." Coupled with this research is a consultant's report of a survey, evaluation, and recommendation for management of vegetation in this area.

In the effort to establish a long-range restoration program for the park's extensive monumentation several studies were contracted to the Center of Archaeometry at Washington University in 1979. These included: "Preliminary Survey/Proposal for Conservation of the Sculptural Monuments of Gettysburg National Military Park," "A Conservation Study of Soldiers' National Monument," and others on the Fourth Ohio Monument and monument grouting. W. F. Chase, a conservator of the Freer Gallery of Art in Washington, D.C., prepared a study on the 26th Pennsylvania Emergency Regiment Monument that had been subject to damage from an explosion and fire. All of the studies indicated that extensive conservation and cyclic maintenance were required to restore the park's monumentation which was valued at between \$20,000,000 and \$30,000,000. Coupled with these research efforts was the development of a park monument policy that indicated a shift in management orientation from looking at the memorials as appendages to the historic scene to significant cultural resources integral with the historic scene itself.⁶³

62. Annual Reports, Superintendent, Gettysburg National Military Park, February 11, 1976, n.p., and March 9, 1977, n.p., Park Administrative Files, GNMP.

63. Annual Report, Superintendent, Gettysburg National Military Park, March 13, 1980, pp. 12-13, Park Administrative Files, GNMP. Efforts were also begun to examine the effect of acid rain on the park's monumentation. A special study, entitled "Analyses of Bronze Statuary," was developed by Drs. Block and Sommer of the University of Maryland in 1981 in order to assist the park in its consideration of the best means to preserve its bronze monuments.

PARK PUBLIC AND MEDIA RELATIONS PROGRAM

NPS officials at Gettysburg had been concerned about improving public relations with the local community for some years. Accordingly, in 1972 Superintendent Schober scheduled monthly meetings in his office to which representatives of the Gettysburg Area Council of Governments, Cumberland Township, Gettysburg Borough, Gettysburg Area Chamber of Commerce, Gettysburg Travel Council, Gettysburg Retail Merchants, Gettysburg College, and Gettysburg Lutheran Theological Seminary were invited. These meetings led to formation of the Community Public Relations Committee in 1973, thus providing a forum to explore problems and opportunities for cooperation on mutually beneficial projects.⁶⁴

Park management gave increasing attention to fostering better media relations during the mid-1970s. These efforts included participation by park staff on local and regional radio and television programs relative to land acquisition, master planning, summer programs, and vandalism. Efforts were also made to create conditions for a more favorable press for the National Park Service in the *Gettysburg Times* and other area newspapers.⁶⁵

In 1976 the *Gettysburg Times*, encouraged by Park Service officials, introduced a bi-weekly newspaper column entitled "The View From Little Round Top." This feature provided the NPS with an opportunity to discuss park activities with a large audience of park neighbors.⁶⁶

Media coverage of the park increased significantly during 1981 and 1982 because of changes in local media operations. In 1981 new management at the *Gettysburg Times* placed emphasis on active news gathering and several local television stations expanded local news to a one-hour format requiring a considerable increase in program material. During 1982 assignment of a *Gettysburg Times* reporter to cover park stories generated more feature articles and photo stories than the park had enjoyed previously.⁶⁷

64. Annual Reports, Superintendent, Gettysburg National Military Park, January 22, 1973, p. 10, and February 11, 1976, n.p., Park Administrative Files, GNMP.

65. Annual Report, Superintendent, Gettysburg National Military Park, February 11, 1976, n.p., Park Administrative Files, GNMP.

66. Annual Report, Superintendent, Gettysburg National Military Park, March 9, 1977, n.p., Park Administrative Files, GNMP.

67. Annual Reports, Superintendent, Gettysburg National Military Park, April 6, 1982, p. 17, and April 6, 1983, pp. 16-17, Park Administrative Files, GNMP.

PARK VISITATION

It is difficult to establish a true picture of the amount and nature of visitation at Gettysburg during the 1970s and early 1980s, primarily because of changes in the method of counting and calculating visitation. Visitor counts from year to year are not comparable. For example, the draft *General Management Plan* of May 1977 noted that in 1976 counts showed an increase over previous years, while at the same time locations where it was possible to maintain accurate counts showed a decrease in visitation. The lack of consistency in the data thus led the planners to comment that visitation counts were open to "dubious interpretations."

The visitation statistics generally accepted by NPS officials for the 1970-82 period are found in the *General Management Plan* approved in December 1982 and the *Interpretive Prospectus* approved in November 1983. According to these statistics park visitation during this 13-year period averaged between 1,400,000 and 1,500,000 per year, with a high of nearly 1,800,000 in 1976 and a low of some 1,100,000 in 1979.

Park visitation during this period remained remarkably consistent, due in part to continuing high visibility in national periodicals.⁶⁸ Fluctuations in response to many different influences, however, were evident. In 1973 and 1974 there was a decline in visitation because of the fuel shortage and the inflationary economy. There was a dramatic rise in park use during the Bicentennial travel years of 1976 and 1977, followed by a sharp decline in 1979 because of the unavailability and cost of automobile fuel, the economy and weather, and two local "scares" – the Three Mile Island nuclear power incident and a polio scare in the nearby Lancaster County, Pennsylvania Dutch area.

During the 1970s and early 1980s the seasonal distribution of visitation at Gettysburg was more predictable though not typical of most National Park Service units because of high off-season visits, particularly by tour bus and school groups. The seasonal distribution was:

Summer – 43-49%
Fall – 19-25%
Winter – 5-7%
Spring – 25-27%

68. Examples of such articles in national periodicals were Philip Reaves, "The 'Shrine' of Gettysburg," *Good Housekeeping* CLXXI (July, 1970), 126, 128, and "Telling America the Gettysburg Story," *Lawyers Title News*, November-December, 1974, 8-10. Highly-publicized visits to the park by prominent persons, such as President Jimmy Carter in July 1978, also kept the park before the public. Hugh Sidey, "When Duty Called, They Came," *Time*, CXII (July 17, 1978), 14.

Organized groups constituted a relatively large percentage of the park visitation. In 1982, for instance, some 21 percent of the park visitors fell into this category.

According to the 1982 *General Management Plan* persons who visited the park came from all geographical sections of the United States, although a substantial percentage were from the "day use area" of approximately 100 miles radius from the park. The plan stated:

This 100 mile radius area includes the cities of Baltimore and Washington and has a population of over ten million. Since Gettysburg is also situated on the fringe of the East Coast Megalopolis, it is moderately convenient to the interstate highway system and is within one day's drive for many millions more. Two recent studies indicate that 42% stayed overnight. Though a high percentage of visitation is family groups, the percentage of bus groups has increased slowly but steadily over the years.

There are two major types of park use and, therefore, two sources of visitors, although the sources and uses are not mutually exclusive of each other. Tourists come to Gettysburg to see the park as an historic battlefield and local people use the park for recreation, commuting, open space as well as for its historic values. A substantial number of park users are from the South Central Pennsylvania/North Central Maryland area (about 31%) and from New York and Ohio (about 18%).

The park is also used by tourists and local visitors for non-interpretive recreational activities including pleasure driving, picnicking, walking/hiking, horseback riding, enjoyment of the setting, cross country skiing, and kite flying as well as other informal uses. The park serves the community by providing open space and acts as a buffer to local urbanization. Unfortunately, park avenues serve local motorists as short cuts around town, which competes with the use of park avenues for sightseeing and interpretive tours.⁶⁹

PARK SPECIAL EVENTS

Special events continued to be a significant part of the park program at Gettysburg during the 1970s and early 1980s. The superintendent's annual report for 1973, for instance, listed a number of such occasions. Among these were the visit of the Chicago Civil War Round Table on May 10-12, which featured General and Mrs. Omar Bradley as guests, and the dedication of a monument to its Confederate soldiers by the State of Mississippi in October. Other special events that year included

69. *General Management Plan, Gettysburg National Military Park and National Cemetery, Pennsylvania*, December, 1982, pp. 37-38, and *Interpretive Prospectus, Gettysburg National Military Park, Gettysburg, Pennsylvania*, November 29, 1983, n.p.

an art exhibit by Gettysburg High School students, which ended with a reception for the contributing students and their parents; the Gettysburg Ministerium's April 22 Easter sunrise service in the Amphitheater; the Knights Templar Ascension Festival in the National Cemetery; a 4-H Inspirational Service on May 20 at the Eternal Light Peace Memorial; Memorial Day services in the National Cemetery on May 30; the Grand Army of the Republic's Remembrance Day ceremony on November 17; the commemoration of the Gettysburg Address on November 19 by the Lincoln Fellowship; and the special "Spirit of Gettysburg" banquet encouraging cooperation between the Park and the community.⁷⁰

One of the most notable events to occur in the park in the mid-1970s was the dedication of a monument to Lincoln's Gettysburg Address on November 19, 1975. The monument, donated by the State of Kentucky, was erected near the Soldiers' National Monument on the approximate site of the original address. Governor Julian Carroll presented the monument to NPS Director Gary Everhardt who accepted on behalf of the National Park Service. It was the first monument to be erected by Kentucky within the park and contained bronze facsimiles of the handwritten address.⁷¹

A number of special events were held in and near the park in 1976, some of which were related to the nation's bicentennial observance. A total of 53,135 attended these programs, the most popular of which was the reenactment of Pickett's Charge on private property on July 3 when 40,000 persons were in attendance.⁷²

One of the significant events in the park during this period occurred in 1979 when the park received on loan the Nicolay copy of Lincoln's Gettysburg Address. The former lounge area in the Cyclorama Center rotunda was secured by vault-type doors and converted for display of the address in a special exhibit case. Complimenting the address exhibit, which was opened with special ceremonies on July 7, 1979, was a valuable painting of Lincoln painted by Francis B. Carpenter and donated by the Benjamin J. Winters family.⁷³

70. Annual Report, Superintendent, Gettysburg National Military Park, January 25, 1974, p. 5, Park Administrative Files, GNMP.

71. Annual Report, Superintendent, Gettysburg National Military Park, February 11, 1976, n.p., Park Administrative Files, GNMP.

72. Annual Report, Superintendent, Gettysburg National Military Park, March 9, 1977, n.p., Park Administrative Files, GNMP.

73. Annual Report, Superintendent, Gettysburg National Military Park, March 13, 1980, p. 15, Park Administrative Files, GNMP.

PARK CAMPGROUND

The group campground at McMillan Woods at Gettysburg continued to be heavily used by park visitors during the 1970-82 period. The campground, which had a capacity of 200 in the early 1970s, was open from April 15 to October 15 and was of "primitive type" and "by reservation only." No fees were charged for its use. In 1972 some 10,165 campers used the campground's facilities, one of the largest groups being Boy Scouts from Arlington, Virginia. Scout groups accounted for more than 90 percent of the campground's use that year.⁷⁴

The campground was redesigned and reseeded in 1973 to better delineate camp sites and allow park rangers closer control over its use.⁷⁵ The new arrangement provided for a capacity of 400 people in six sites. There were four chemical toilets, one water standpipe, and limited amounts of firewood (down and dead). Space at the rear of the campground provided for hitching horses overnight.⁷⁶

By 1982 the campground facilities operated at a capacity of 400 at eight sites. Scout groups accounted for some 95 percent of the campground use. Some 4,125 campers spent 6,218 camper nights during the year. A campground attendant was on duty five days a week.⁷⁷

FEDERAL YOUTH EMPLOYMENT PROGRAMS

During the 1970s and early 1980s the park participated in various federal youth employment programs. These programs provided labor that served as an adjunct to park personnel in carrying out various projects on the battlefield. The three principal programs were the Neighborhood Youth Corps, Youth Conservation Corps, and Young Adult Conservation Corps.

74. Annual Report, Superintendent, Gettysburg National Military Park, January 22, 1973, p. 6, Park Administrative Files, GNMP.

75. Annual Report, Superintendent, Gettysburg National Military Park, January 25, 1974, p. 8, Park Administrative Files, GNMP.

76. Annual Report, Superintendent, Gettysburg National Military Park, February 11, 1976, n.p., Park Administrative Files, GNMP.

77. Annual Report, Superintendent, Gettysburg National Military Park, April 6, 1983, p. 19, Park Administrative Files, GNMP.

Neighborhood Youth Corps

The park continued to participate in the Neighborhood Youth Corps program during the early 1970s. During the summer of 1972, for instance, twenty young people worked at jobs in the park ranging from cataloging of library material and typing to building historic fences and realigning headstones in the national cemetery.⁷⁸

Youth Conservation Corps

Gettysburg National Military Park was authorized in 1972 to establish a Youth Conservation Corps (YCC) Camp. The coeducational camp, named Camp Eisenhower, was set up in the Battlefield Motel near the Sherfy Farm with twenty resident enrollees and a staff of six. The camp was in operation from June 18 to August 12, the camp being dedicated by Mrs. Mamie Eisenhower on June 18.⁷⁹

In 1976 the YCC Camp moved to the recently acquired Peace Light Motel with 32 enrollees and 9 staff members. That year the 8-week program, with a \$53,700 budget, accomplished an estimated \$59,905 worth of work in the park. Some of the major projects completed under Camp Director Victoria Weitzel were 1,800 feet of trail rehabilitation, construction of a replica corn crib at the Granite Farm, spiking 3,000 feet of worm fence, conducting sixteen water quality and soil sampling surveys and a visitor use statistical survey, and cleaning/preservation of museum weapons.⁸⁰

Because of sweeping budget cuts in the 1981 YCC program for federal agencies, Gettysburg did not operate a camp that year. The following year a six-enrollee, nonresidential program was operated with park funds. The crew leader for the operation was hired from the seasonal maintenance register. Operating costs for the ten-week program totaled \$11,008, and the appraised value of the work accomplished was \$15,303. Approximately thirty hours were devoted to environmental education sessions conducted by the crew leader. Major work

78. Annual Report, Superintendent, Gettysburg National Military Park, January 22, 1973, p. 10, Park Administrative Files, GNMP.

79. *Ibid.*, p. 8.

80. Annual Report, Superintendent, Gettysburg National Military Park, March 9, 1977, n.p., Park Administrative Files, GNMP.

projects included painting fences at Eisenhower National Historic Site, maintenance work on the park horse trail, and removal of vegetation around historic fences.⁸¹

Young Adult Conservation Corps

In 1978 a Young Adult Conservation Corps (YACC) program was commenced under the directorship of Bob Greer at Gettysburg with a satellite camp at Valley Forge National Historical Park. By October 1979 the program at Gettysburg had grown into a 100-enrollee nonresidential center. Budget cutbacks for fiscal year 1979 reduced the average enrollee count to 20. That year the YACC completed fifty projects at Gettysburg having an appraised value of \$368,205. Some of the larger projects included erection of a metal building at the YACC center, land clearing on Little Round Top and Houck's Ridge, commencement of work on a metal building for the maintenance shop and office, and preservation work on cannon balls and artillery shells.⁸²

Budget difficulties caused the program enrollment to decline during the next several years, and the YACC camp was officially terminated on March 31, 1982. During its five years of operation at Gettysburg and Valley Forge the YACC employed some 547 enrollees who performed 249,996 work hours with a total appraised value of \$2,081,446. At Gettysburg the more significant projects included clearing 85 acres of trees and brush near Little Round Top, construction or repair of 6.09 miles of historic fencing, conversion of 200 acres to productive cropland, and planting 5,600 native hardwoods and pines for screening purposes.⁸³

VOLUNTEERS-IN-PARKS PROGRAM

The Volunteers-in-Parks program was established at Gettysburg in 1973, and by 1975 the program was utilizing the talents of 29 participants. In addition, two volunteer "living history" military units presented sixteen demonstrations throughout that summer. These combined efforts provided a total of 1,837 person-hours of assistance to park visitor services

81. Annual Reports, Superintendent, Gettysburg National Military Park, April 6, 1982, p. 17, and April 6, 1983, p. 16, Park Administrative Files, GNMP.

82. Annual Report, Superintendent, Gettysburg National Military Park, March 13, 1980, p. 10, Park Administrative Files, GNMP.

83. Annual Report, Superintendent, Gettysburg National Military Park, April 6, 1983, pp. 15-16, Park Administrative Files, GNMP.

programs in such areas as information desk duty, clerical duties, research, special tours, farm work and animal care, horse patrol, and sewing of living history costumes. In December Mr. and Mrs. Sheldon Bedsole took up residence in the Granite Farmhouse to provide the park with 24 hours of volunteer time in operating the "farm exhibit."⁸⁴

The Volunteers-in-Parks program at Gettysburg continued to provide useful support to various interpretive and visitor services functions during the late 1970s and early 1980s. In 1982, for instance, volunteers provided services by working on slide and photograph files and living history equipment maintenance and repair. Volunteers also assisted at the information desk, and the 53d Pennsylvania Volunteers presented a series of living history programs to more than 1,800 visitors.⁸⁵

HISTORIC GETTYSBURG-ADAMS COUNTY, INC.

During the early 1970s the National Park Service took an active role in encouraging historic preservation and adaptive restoration in the Gettysburg area. The park and Mid-Atlantic Regional Office, through contacts with community leaders, took steps to develop and foster the formation of a non-profit organization comparable to Historic Annapolis, Inc. The first public meeting of persons interested in stimulating the adaptive historic restoration of downtown Gettysburg was held on July 14, 1975. With the assistance of concerned historic preservation parties a non-profit corporation, Historic Gettysburg-Adams County, Inc., was incorporated under the laws of Pennsylvania and on January 3, 1976, it began operating with Leroy Smith, first president of the tower corporation, as president and Ed Weintraub, former Pennsylvania State Historic Preservation Officer and former Assistant Attorney General of the commonwealth, as executive director. The organization's articles of incorporation explained its purpose:

To foster and participate in the preservation, interpretation, and welfare of the historical, architectural, scenic, and culturally significant historic areas, districts, sites, structures, objects, and activities, and the townscapes and landscapes of the Borough of Gettysburg and Adams County, Pennsylvania, and of the Gettysburg National Military Park, Gettysburg National Cemetery, and the

84. Annual Report, Superintendent, Gettysburg National Military Park, February 11, 1976, n.p., Park Administrative Files, GNMP.

85. Annual Report, Superintendent, Gettysburg National Military Park, April 6, 1983, p. 10, Park Administrative Files, GNMP.

Eisenhower National Historic Site, and to encourage the appreciation thereof by the general public.⁸⁶

EASTERN NATIONAL PARK AND MONUMENT ASSOCIATION

After transfer of the Gettysburg National Museum to the National Park Service in 1973 the Eastern National Park and Monument Association (ENPMA) began operation of the Electric Map as well as bookstores in the Visitor and Cyclorama centers. The Gettysburg operations of ENPMA were successful financially. By 1975 gross income had soared to \$408,512, of which \$215,000 was for publications sold in the Visitor and Cyclorama centers bookstores. That year Eastern's donations to the park (\$19,650) provided funds for audiovisual installation and upgrading in the Cyclorama Center auditorium and amphitheatre, new color brochures for the Electric Map and Cyclorama, foreign language translations of the Gettysburg Address and the park minifolder, Electric Map script revision, the park's bicentennial newspaper, and a donation of \$5,000 to Historic Gettysburg-Adams County, Inc.⁸⁷

Gross sales from the Gettysburg and Eisenhower bookstores and operation of the Electric Map totaled \$697,024 for the Eastern National Park and Monument Association in 1982. Of this amount the association donated \$32,535 to provide a variety of interpretive services at Gettysburg National Military Park and Eisenhower National Historic Site. These funds provided for printing of a new "Accessibility Guide" for disabled visitors, an alternate park brochure and map, a summer newsletter, a cultural resources inventory, and combined Cyclorama/Electric Map brochures. Eastern donations also purchased reproduction farm equipment for the Granite Farm and funded the "War and Civilians" summer program and the spring and fall student education programs.⁸⁸

86. Annual Report, Superintendent, Gettysburg National Military Park, February 11, 1976, n.p., Park Administrative Files, GNMP, and Regional Director, MARO to Assistant Secretary for Fish and Wildlife and Parks, August 14, 1975, Vertical Files, Adverse Land Use: Vo-Tech & County Land Controversy, GNMP Library.

87. Annual Report, Superintendent, Gettysburg National Military Park, February 11, 1976, n.p., Park Administrative Files, GNMP.

88. Annual Report, Superintendent, Gettysburg National Military Park, April 6, 1983, p. 13, Park Administrative Files, GNMP.

CEMETERY OPERATIONS

Gettysburg National Cemetery and its annex were officially closed for further interments on October 27, 1972, after a number of years during which there were heavy demands for burials as a result of the Vietnam War. That year 418 interments were made in the cemetery. Of this total 397 were new burials and 21 were reopenings of multiple depth, occupied gravesites. Although officially closed, the cemetery had a few obstructed gravesites for cremated remains. As of January 1, 1973, there were 6,878 bodies interred in the cemetery.⁸⁹

89. Annual Report, Superintendent, Gettysburg National Military Park, January 22, 1973, p. 8, Park Administrative Files, GNMP.

EPILOGUE

Since 1863 Gettysburg battlefield has become a symbol of national military strength and purpose in the consciousness of the American public. The "hallowed ground" of Gettysburg has become one of America's most treasured shrines, a "sacred spot" that seems to give shape and meaning to our national experience. While celebrating one of the pivotal events in our cultural heritage, the battlefield increasingly has presented a series of challenges to the agencies that have administered it. These challenges relate to questions as to how to preserve and interpret a major historical area while meeting the demands of increasing visitation, growing commercialism and development in the vicinity, and other problems associated with modern culture. The future of Gettysburg will be determined by the response of the National Park Service to these challenges during the last years of the twentieth century.¹

1. For more data on the symbolism of Gettysburg battlefield and the challenges and enigmas it presents to those administering the site, see Patterson, "A Patriotic Landscape: Gettysburg, 1873-1913," pp. 315-33, and John Patterson, "Zapped at the Map: The Battlefield at Gettysburg," *Journal of Popular Culture*, VII (Spring, 1973), 825-37.

APPENDIXES

**APPENDIX A:
GETTYSBURG NATIONAL MILITARY PARK: MANAGEMENT OBJECTIVES, 1988**

**STATEMENTS OF SIGNIFICANCE, MANAGEMENT OBJECTIVES, ISSUES, AND OUTLINE OF
PLANNING REQUIREMENTS DEVELOPED AT DECEMBER 13-15, 1988 WORKSHOP**

STATEMENTS OF SIGNIFICANCE

BATTLEFIELD

The Civil War battle at Gettysburg, July 1-3, 1863 was the last major Confederate invasion of the north in an attempt to secure needed supplies and exploit a growing northern peace movement. Confederate and Union troops clashed in the largest engagement of land forces north of the Potomac, with an extraordinary number of casualties. The Union Military victory unified the north and ended practical hopes for a negotiated peace with southern independence. Due to the extensive written and photographic documentation of the battle and its aftermath and the impact of the Gettysburg Address, the battle has become the national and international symbol of the "high water mark" of the Confederacy.

This significance resulted in pioneer preservation efforts to preserve and commemorate an entire battlefield. The area has become an outstanding example of battlefield monumentation as provided by battle veterans and ongoing efforts. The dual battlefield and memorial landscape has now become significant in its own right due to its historic integrity and artistic value. In addition, the park's collection of Civil War artifacts, including armaments, documents, photographs and archeological resources is among the most significant in the nation.

CEMETERY

The historic portion of the cemetery is significant as the final resting place of Union Soldiers who lost their lives at Gettysburg. It served as the setting and catalyst for Lincoln's Gettysburg Address and his statement of the purpose of the war and his hopes for the future. This was the first truly National cemetery in that it was jointly incorporated by people of all Union States, at the grass roots level. It was planned by renowned landscape designer William Saunders to reflect the concept of union and equality.

MANAGEMENT OBJECTIVES

BATTLEFIELD:

ADJACENT LANDS

Promote conservation of circa 1863 structures, lanes, fields, farmsteads, landforms and other strategic landscape features which influenced the battle's evolution and outcome and which contribute to preserving the historic balance of rural, agricultural and town setting critical to conveying to visitors why, where and how the battle occurred.

INTERPRETATION AND VISITOR USE

Using the battlefield setting as the primary interpretive resource, interpret the Battle of Gettysburg (and its impact on the community and the country) in the context of the Gettysburg campaign and the Civil War.

To manage public use to assure for the visitor an atmosphere in which to contemplate the acts and deeds of the Battle of Gettysburg. Public use should avoid activities which are consumptive of park resources or incompatible with park purposes.

HISTORIC STRUCTURES

To preserve/restore historic structures associated with the Battle of Gettysburg.

To preserve/restore resources which may enhance understanding of 1863 setting.

To preserve/restore structures which have significance of their own and do not detract from the 1863 setting.

MONUMENTS

To conserve monuments and to prevent further deterioration.

To ensure that appropriate memorials are erected within designated commemorative zones and/or on grounds from which the respective state had units in the line of battle.

MARKING OF BATTLE LINES

To designate and mark the lines of battle of the Union and Confederate Armies as well as related significant events.

DATA ACQUISITION

To secure and compile data concerning the Gettysburg campaign for the study, correct understanding, and accurate interpretation of the battle and its related actions and movements, and for the delineation of the most important tactical positions and evolution of the battle.

LANDSCAPES

To manage the park as a memorial landscape which not only reflects the pre-battle 1863 rural agricultural environment but includes those superimposed post-battle elements (monumentation,

avenues, interpretive devices, facilities, etc.) which are necessary for commemoration and visitor understanding of the battle.

Essential 1863 landscape feature may include:

Structures	Orchards (structure)
Fence lines	Woodlands
Field Size	Wood Lots
Wetlands	Roads and Traces
Waterways and Springs	Vegetation height/texture/location/ characteristics
Boulders	
Ditches	

NATIONAL CEMETERY:

To preserve and/or restore the significant elements of the William Saunders designed landscape and to interpret the cemetery and Lincoln’s Gettysburg Address, while providing a reverent atmosphere that emphasizes that the cemetery is the final resting place for veterans of the Civil War and other wars.

ISSUES

LANDSCAPE ISSUES

A lack of definition of overall landscape management goals creates an inability to consistently manage all landscape elements (woodlots, crops, field sizes, fencing, roads, topography). There is insufficient guidance as to what period and level of authenticity the landscape should be restored, and no guidance relative to natural resource management policies or screening practices.

Lack of definition and distinction between different landscape units creates difficulty in managing and interpreting those units and their interrelationships.

The lack of clearly defined goals leads to an inability to prioritize management actions for overall landscapes and their individual elements.

Landscapes, particularly cemetery, are deteriorating due to lack of money for restoration and ongoing maintenance.

Lack of baseline data for cultural and natural resources seriously impedes both long range planning and management of day-to-day operations.

NON-HISTORIC INFRASTRUCTURE ISSUES

The physical plant (including roads) is deteriorated and poorly laid out.

Administrative facilities are inadequate for park needs.

Some facilities are not accessible to the handicapped.

Visitor facilities (parking, building, space, rest rooms) are inadequate for current level of visitation.

Some facilities do not meet health and safety codes.

Health and safety issues (eg. asbestos) exist.

COLLECTIONS ISSUES

There is no scope of collections statement for the library, and the purpose and use of the library needs clearer definition.

Collections are deteriorating due to lack of archival and curatorial treatment and proper long-term storage facilities.

Cannon carriages are deteriorating due to age, lack of maintenance, and the difficulty in securing replacement parts.

The cataloguing of collections has not been completed.

HISTORIC STRUCTURES ISSUES

A lack of definition of management goals for historic structures creates inconsistency in management actions.

Buildings are deteriorating due to lack of use and habitation, and to low maintenance funding and staffing levels.

There is inadequate baseline data, limiting effective preservation management and interpretation.

MONUMENTS ISSUES

There is inadequate baseline data, limiting ability to effectively restore, conserve, and interpret the park's monuments and memorials.

There is disagreement over level(s) to which monuments should be restored and appropriate treatment methods, creating inconsistencies in restoration treatments.

Monuments are deteriorating due to a lack of funding and staffing for restoration, rehabilitation and preservation maintenance, and due to ineffective restoration techniques.

ARCHEOLOGICAL ISSUES

Lack of baseline data (inventories and assessments)

Known sites are inadequately protected.

INTERPRETIVE ISSUES

The unresolved cultural landscape management issues impede park's ability to interpret the battle and its relationship to today's landscape.

Significance of Gettysburg Address has superseded that of the national cemetery in the public's perception.

Regulations providing for battlefield guides (CFR title 36, part 25) are outdated.

Inadequate funding severely limits personal service interpretation for the visiting public during twelve-week peak season. Park is unable to implement the identified core interpretive program.

ADJACENT LANDS/COMMUNITY RELATIONS ISSUES

A lack of funding, staffing and expertise limits ability to fully implement adjacent lands initiative outlined in boundary study.

Role of park as catalyst for community preservation efforts is undefined.

A lack of baseline data for significant resources outside park inhibits implementation of adjacent lands initiatives.

Questions concerning current jurisdictional authorities over public roads cause problems with liability, investigations and utilities.

VISITOR MANAGEMENT ISSUES

At the national cemetery, high volume traffic, tour groups and heavy visitor use contribute to a lack of reverence and some inappropriate uses.

The level, location and appropriateness of active recreational use of the park needs further definition.

Certain areas of the park are over-used, negatively impacting resources and causing overcrowding.

Significant health and safety issues, such as hazardous intersections, exist.

OPERATIONAL ISSUES

There is inadequate staffing for park facilities and programs, including compliance.

Inadequate definitions of each division's responsibilities lead to overlapping or unassigned tasks.

There is an inadequate programming process for regularly identifying unmet operating needs.

Current organizational structure results in unequal burdens and responsibilities for divisions and individuals.

Sharing of staffing/money between Gettysburg and Eisenhower confuses the program and budgeting process and may impair the effectiveness of both park operations.

OUTLINE OF PLANNING REQUIREMENTS

IDENTIFIED NEEDS

Cultural landscape reports on primary farmsteads in the park.

Historic Resource Studies)On Major Historic
Historic Structure Reports)Structures and
Historic Structure Preservation Guides)Monuments

Cultural Landscape Reports and Management Plan Including:

- Long Term Fence Management Plan

- Long Term Forest Woodlot Management Plan

- Long Term Agricultural Management Plan

- Screening

- Wildlife Management Plan

- Non-historic intrusions (overhead utility lines, administrative and visitor use facilities)

Revised Scope of Collections Statement for library

Complete National Register documentation nomination for Eisenhower and Gettysburg.

Complete administrative history (in progress).

Study of cast iron cannon carriages and program to repair and/or replace them.

Complete the revision of 36 CFR 25 (Battlefield Guides).

Physical security survey

GIS Plan

Complete study on jurisdiction on park roads, lanes and ROWs.

Update LCS

Phase I, II and III Archeological (overview) survey

Archeological and Historic Base Maps, including Historic Trees

Baseline Natural Resource Inventories for flora, fauna

DCP for Little Round Top

IPM's for landscape, structures, wildlife (deer)

Surface water assessment

Architectural construction plans for administrative complex

Conservation treatment approach and treatment plans for monumentation

Complete Cemetery Cultural Landscape Study with management recommendations for the National Cemetery

Develop a sponsor-oriented guide to the park's monumentation policies (erection, design, location, maintenance, priorities).

Revise Resource Management Plan.

Revise National Register nomination for Battlefield Historical District.

Identification of critical parcels in Historical District.

OTHER SPECIFIC ACTIONS PROPOSED DURING WORKSHOP

Some of the actions proposed below were included in the OPR needs list.

HISTORIC STRUCTURES

View park's collection as an opportunity to develop prototype HSPG's for monument categories. Such HSPG's shall establish standards and guide lines for specific preservation techniques.

Continue the practice of complete documentation in the form of standardized completion reports for all treatments.

Communicate to potential donors and sponsors of monument work the priority and standards for such work.

Recognize that not all historic structures will be able to be utilized or habituated. These structures make available contribution to the 1863 setting and will be maintained as such.

Evaluate existing levels of information and then establish and prioritize necessary research needs for the minimum baseline data for management of these historic structures.

MONUMENTS

Complete the Historic Resource study for the monument collection. A condition assessment of the collection shall be initiated with priorities established for treatments.

ARCHEOLOGICAL RESOURCES

Complete a Phase I survey, assessment and overview.

OTHER ADMINISTRATIVE ACTIONS

Consolidate administrative activities in one location to facilitate more effective management. Complete and print DCP for the Guinn Wood Administrative Complex. Request programming of necessary construction funds.

Assure handicapped needs are formally and routinely considered and implemented in all planning projects.

Identify the most effective organization and budget for Eisenhower and Gettysburg as separate and distinct units. Concurrently conduct a comprehensive organizational study to define roles, responsibilities and functions to prevent duplication and overlapping.

Seek solicitor's assistance in completing a comprehensive review of jurisdictional and ownership questions and to recommend necessary management actions.

Play a pro-active role in community land use planning to promote park goals and historic preservation efforts. Work closely with private preservation groups in coordinating efforts to deal with local governments and individual landowners. Organization and staffing alternatives should be identified to accomplish these efforts.

Provide for the maintenance of public use facilities at the highest possible standards to accommodate peak visitor use.

APPENDIX B:
MANAGEMENT OBJECTIVES
GETTYSBURG NATIONAL MILITARY PARK
GETTYSBURG NATIONAL CEMETERY
OCTOBER 1990

The following management objectives for Gettysburg National Military Park and Gettysburg National Cemetery are based on the units' establishing legislation, past management history and objectives, and on their long traditions of commemoration, preservation, and interpretation.

The objectives were originally developed at a workshop in December 1988. Following a period of testing and consideration, the objectives were revised and subsequently approved at a workshop in October 1990. They will soon be added into the park's *Statement for Management*.

MANAGEMENT OBJECTIVES FOR GETTYSBURG NATIONAL MILITARY PARK

Adjacent Lands

Promote conservation of the important features of the Gettysburg Battlefield Historic District -including certain structures, lanes, fields, farmsteads, landforms and other landscape features that influenced the Battle of Gettysburg – which are necessary for maintaining the rural, agricultural, and memorial character of Gettysburg and conveying to the visitors why, where and how the battle occurred.

Interpretation and Visitor Use

Using the battlefield setting as the primary interpretive resource, interpret: the Battle of Gettysburg (and its impact on the community and the country) in the context of the Gettysburg Campaign, the Civil War and U.S. history; the significance of Lincoln's Gettysburg Address, and the events surrounding the creation and dedication of the Soldiers' National Cemetery; and the commemoration and monumentation of the Gettysburg Battlefield by battle veterans and contemporaries and up to the present.

To manage all public use and activities to assure for the visitor an atmosphere in which to contemplate the acts and deeds of the Battle of Gettysburg.

Landscapes

To manage the park as a memorial landscape which not only reflects the pre-battle 1863 rural agricultural environment but includes those superimposed post-battle elements (monumentation, avenues, interpretive devices, facilities, etc.) which are necessary for commemoration and visitor understanding of the battle. No restoration of structures or landscape elements may create an anachronism; that is all elements must have coexisted during a single historic period.

Essential landscape features may include:

Structures	Orchards (structure)
Fence lines	Woodlands
Field Size	Woodlots
Wetlands	Roads and Traces

Wet Areas
Waterways and Springs
Boulders

Ditches
Vegetation Characteristics (height/texture/location)

Historic Structures

To preserve and/or restore historic structures associated with the Battle of Gettysburg.

To preserve and/or restore resources which may enhance understanding of the memorial landscape.

To preserve and/or restore structures which have significance of their own and do not detract from the memorial landscape.

Monuments

To preserve monuments and to prevent further deterioration.

To ensure that future memorials are appropriate and are erected within designated commemorative zones.

To designate and mark the lines of battle of the Union and Confederate Armies.

Data Acquisition

To secure and compile data concerning the Gettysburg campaign for the study, correct understanding, and accurate interpretation of the battle and its related actions and movements, and for the delineation of the most important tactical positions and evolution of the battle.

MANAGEMENT OBJECTIVE FOR GETTYSBURG NATIONAL CEMETERY

To preserve and/or restore the significant elements of the William Saunders designed landscape and subsequent significant memorialization, and to interpret the cemetery and Lincoln's Gettysburg Address, while providing a reverent atmosphere that emphasizes that the cemetery is the final resting place for veterans of the Civil War and other wars.

CONCLUSIONS ON LANDSCAPE MANAGEMENT, FARMING AND DEER

Participants in the October 24-25 workshop discussed the applications of park management objectives to two key landscape features: woodlots and cropfields. These discussions addressed:

- the important characteristics of these landscape features;
- the effects of deer on achieving park objectives for these features;
- actions to restore historic field sizes in certain areas and the potential effect of those actions on farming; and
- the implications for managing deer.

The conclusions and tasks identified during the workshop are summarized below.

Characteristics of woodlot and cropfield landscape features

Based on the approved park management objectives, workshop participants reached several conclusions on managing woodlots and cropfields

1. Concluded that the important characteristics for which woodlots should be managed are: height of overstory, density of understory, and mix of deciduous vs. coniferous trees. Woodlots should be managed with native/historic species where practical.
2. Concluded that crops compatible in general appearance with those of the historic period will be used in the park's agricultural fields.
3. While desirable to restore orchards to historic type, it is only critical when the type is crucial to interpretation.

Effects of deer on woodlots and cropfields

Based on existing research information, workshop participants identified several effects of current deer populations on important landscape features.

1. Concluded that deer adversely impact ability to perpetuate important woodlot and woodland characteristics.
2. Concluded that an overpopulation of deer adversely affects our long-term ability to perpetuate economically viable agriculture and may eventually adversely affect our ability to perpetuate the historic appearance of cropfields.

These conclusions suggest that management actions must be taken to control the adverse impacts of deer on important landscape features. These actions may also serve to maintain the feasibility of private farming, a management tool for maintaining the appearance of cropfields.

Factoring in field size management

Prior to examining options for deer management that may increase the feasibility of private agriculture in addition to protecting important landscape features, it is important to factor in other management actions that will also affect farming. Workshop participants identified several tasks to accomplish this.

1. Identify which fields are historically and interpretively important to be restored to historic sizes. Base decision on management objectives and "ABC" system.
2. In above areas, identify options for openings in fencing that have minimal adverse impacts on historic/interpretive objectives.
3. Look at feasibility of restoring field sizes. Carry out a cost/benefit analysis. Use the "sliding scale of relative importance" as a decision making tool, ie.:

less points

historic/interp. value

more points

cost, politics,
compliance,
feasibility

4. Make final decision on restoration of field sizes: where, when, etc.

Implications for deer management

These conclusions and tasks imply certain options for managing the impacts of deer in the park. They suggest four basic options:

1. Decrease the size of the deer population.
2. NPS takes over farming in certain areas and accepts the loss of crops. Management action still required to assure woodlot regeneration.
3. NPS subsidizes farmers to farm for appearance rather than profit. Management action still required to assure woodlot regeneration.
4. Some combination of the above.

A group was appointed by the Deputy Regional Director to develop a strategy for making deer management decisions. This strategy should include short-term and long-term components and an approach for involving the public. The group, to be convened by the Superintendent, will present the strategy within six weeks of the workshop.

APPENDIX C:
PUBLIC LAW 101-377, AUGUST 17, 1990

**GETTYSBURG NATIONAL MILITARY PARK,
PENNSYLVANIA**

An Act to revise the boundary of Gettysburg National Military Park in the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania, and for other purposes.

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled.

SECTION 1. GETTYSBURG NATIONAL MILITARY PARK BOUNDARY REVISION.

(a) **LANDS INCLUDED IN THE PARK.**—In furtherance of the purposes of the Act entitled "An Act to establish a national military park at Gettysburg, Pennsylvania", approved February 11, 1895 (16 U.S.C. 430g et seq.), the Gettysburg National Military Park (hereafter in this Act referred to as the "park") shall hereafter comprise the lands and interests in lands within the boundary generally depicted as "Park Boundary" on the map entitled "Gettysburg National Military Park Boundary Map"; numbered NPS 305/80034-B, and dated March 1990, which shall be on file and available for public inspection in the Office of the Director of the National Park Service, Department of the Interior.

(b) **LANDS EXCLUDED FROM THE PARK.**—Lands and interests in lands outside of the boundary so depicted as "Park Boundary" on the map referred to in subsection (a) are hereby excluded from the park and shall be disposed of in accordance with the provisions of section 2(c).

SEC. 2. ACQUISITION AND DISPOSAL OF LANDS.

(a) **GENERAL AUTHORITY.**—The Secretary is authorized to acquire lands and interests in lands within the park by donation, purchase with donated or appropriated funds, exchange, or otherwise. In acquiring lands and interests in lands under this Act, the Secretary shall acquire the minimum Federal interests necessary to achieve the objectives identified for specific areas and the park.

(b) **AUTHORITY TO CONVEY FREEHOLD AND LEASEHOLD INTERESTS WITHIN PARK.**—The Secretary may convey lands and interests in lands within the park authorized in accordance with subsection (a) of the Act of July 15, 1968 (16 U.S.C. 4601-22), except that, notwithstanding subsection (d) of that section, the net proceeds from any such conveyance may be used, subject to appropriations, to acquire lands and interests within the park.

(c) **CONVEYANCE OF LANDS EXCLUDED FROM PARK.**—(1) The Secretary is authorized, in accordance with applicable existing law, to exchange Federal lands and interests excluded from the park pursuant to section 1(b) for the purpose of acquiring lands within the park boundary.

(2) If any such Federal lands or interests are not exchanged within five years after the date of enactment of this Act, the Secretary may sell any or all such lands or interests to the highest bidder, in accordance with such regulations as the Secretary may prescribe,

but any such conveyance shall be at not less than the fair market value of the land or interest, as determined by the Secretary.

(3) All Federal lands and interests sold or exchanged pursuant to this subsection shall be subject to such terms and conditions as will assure the use of the property in a manner which, in the judgment of the Secretary, will protect the park and the Gettysburg Battlefield Historic District (hereafter in this Act referred to as the "historic district"). Notwithstanding any other provision of law, the net proceeds from any such sale or exchange shall be used, subject to appropriations, to acquire lands and interests within the park.

(d) **RELINQUISHMENT OF LEGISLATIVE JURISDICTION TO PENNSYLVANIA.**—With respect to any lands over which the United States exercises exclusive or concurrent legislative jurisdiction and which are excluded from the park pursuant to section 1(b), the Secretary may relinquish to the State of Pennsylvania such exclusive or concurrent legislative jurisdiction by filing with the Governor a notice of relinquishment to take effect upon acceptance thereof, unless otherwise provided by the laws of the State.

SEC. 3. AGREEMENTS WITH RESPECT TO MONUMENTS AND TABLETS LOCATED OUTSIDE PARK BOUNDARY.

The Secretary is authorized to enter into agreements with the owners of property in proximity to but outside the boundary of the park on which historic monuments and tablets commemorating the Battle of Gettysburg have been erected on or before January 1, 1990. The Secretary may make funds available, subject to appropriations, for the maintenance, protection, and interpretation of such monuments and tablets pursuant to such agreements. In addition, within the area depicted as the "Gettysburg Battlefield Historic District" on the map referred to in section 1(a), or in proximity thereto, the Secretary may, with the consent of the owner, acquire, by donation, purchase, or exchange, lands and interests comprising such monuments and tablets together with lands and interests necessary to provide adequate public access thereto.

SEC. 4. CONSERVATION WITHIN GETTYSBURG BATTLEFIELD HISTORIC DISTRICT.

(a) **ENCOURAGEMENT OF CONSERVATION.**—The Secretary shall take appropriate action to encourage conservation of the historic district by landowners, local governments, organizations, and businesses.

(b) **PRIORITIZATION OF GRANTS.**—Within the historic district, the Secretary shall give priority in making grants under section 101(d), and in providing technical assistance, information, and advice under section 101(h), of the National Historic Preservation Act (16 U.S.C. 470a(d), (h)) to those programs and activities in the historic district that will assure development and use of natural and cultural resources in a manner that is consistent with the conservation and maintenance of the district's historic character.

(c) **PROVISION OF TECHNICAL ASSISTANCE.**—The Secretary may provide technical assistance to assist local governments in cooperative efforts which complement the values of the park and the historic district and to help landowners prepare individual property plans which meet landowner and conservation objectives in the historic district.

(d) **REIMBURSEMENT OF PLANNING COSTS.**—The Secretary, under such terms and conditions as the Secretary may prescribe and at the request of any local or county government within the historic

district, shall provide matching reimbursements for up to 50 percent of the planning costs incurred by such government in the development of comprehensive plans and land use guidelines which are consistent with conserving the historic character of the historic district. Reimbursements may only be provided under this subsection to the extent or in such amounts as are provided in appropriation Acts.

(e) **ACCEPTANCE OF EASEMENT DONATIONS.**—The Secretary, upon recommendation from the Director of the National Park Service, in consultation with the Advisory Commission established under section 5, is authorized to accept donations of conservation easements on land located within the historic district.

(f) **FEDERAL CONSISTENCY.**—(1) Any Federal or federally assisted activity or undertaking in the historic district, shall be consistent to the maximum extent possible with the purposes of the preservation of the historic district, including its rural, agricultural, and town elements, and shall also comply with the National Historic Preservation Act and other applicable laws.

(2) The head of any Federal agency (hereafter in this subsection referred to as the "agency") having direct or indirect jurisdiction over a proposed Federal or federally assisted undertaking in the historic district, and the head of any Federal agency having authority to license or permit any undertaking in such area, shall at the earliest feasible date prepare a detailed analysis of any proposed action and submit it to the Secretary.

(3) The Secretary shall review the analysis and consult with the agency. If after such review and consultation, the Secretary finds that the proposed action is not consistent with the purposes identified in this subsection, the agency shall not proceed with the action until after a justification for the action has been submitted to the appropriate committees of Congress with adequate time allowed for Congressional comment. Such justification shall include the following elements: the anticipated effects on the historic and commemorative character of the historic district, the social and economic necessity for the proposed action, all possible alternatives to the proposed action, the comparative benefits of proposed alternative actions, and the mitigation measures outlined in the proposed action.

SEC. 5. ADVISORY COMMISSION.

(a) **ESTABLISHMENT.**—There is hereby established the Gettysburg National Military Park Advisory Commission (hereafter in this Act referred to as the "Advisory Commission"). The Advisory Commission shall be composed of eleven members, as follows:

(1) One member representing each of the local governments from the four townships surrounding the park and the Borough of Gettysburg, appointed by the Secretary.

(2) One member representing the Adams County, Pennsylvania government, appointed by the Secretary.

(3) One member representing the State Historic Preservation Office of the State of Pennsylvania, appointed by the Secretary.

(4) Two members who are residents of Adams County and who are knowledgeable about the park and its resources, appointed by the Secretary, one of whom shall own land or interests in land within the park boundary.

(5) One member with expertise in local historic preservation, appointed by the Secretary.

(6) The Director of the National Park Service or his designee, *ex officio*.

Members shall be appointed for staggered terms of three years, as designated by the Secretary at the time of the initial appointments. Any member of the Advisory Commission appointed for a definite term may serve after the expiration of his term until his successor is appointed. The Advisory Commission shall designate one of its members as Chairperson. Six members of the Advisory Commission shall constitute a quorum.

(b) **MANAGEMENT AND DEVELOPMENT ISSUES.**—The Secretary, or his designee, shall from time to time, but at least semiannually, meet and consult with the Advisory Commission to coordinate the management of the park and the historic district with local jurisdictions.

(c) **MEETINGS.**—The Advisory Commission shall meet on a regular basis. Notice of meetings and agenda shall be published in local newspapers which have a distribution which generally covers the area affected by the park. Advisory Commission meetings shall be held at locations and in such a manner as to ensure adequate public involvement.

(d) **EXPENSES.**—Members of the Advisory Commission shall serve without compensation as such, but the Secretary may pay expenses reasonably incurred in carrying out their responsibilities under this Act on vouchers signed by the Chairperson.

(e) **CHARTER.**—The provisions of section 14 of the Federal Advisory Committee Act (5 U.S.C. App.) are hereby waived with respect to this Advisory Commission.

SEC. 6. INTERPRETATION.

In administering the park, the Secretary shall take such action as is necessary and appropriate to interpret, for the benefit of visitors to the park and the general public, the Battle of Gettysburg in the larger context of the Civil War and American history, including the causes and consequences of the Civil War and including the effects of the war on all the American people.

SEC. 7. AUTHORIZATION OF APPROPRIATIONS.

There are authorized to be appropriated such sums as may be necessary to carry out the purposes of this Act.

Approved August 17, 1990.

APPENDIX D:
REMARKS ON THE DESIGN FOR THE SOLDIERS' NATIONAL CEMETERY,
GETTYSBURG, PA.

In constructing a design for the cemetery, the following considerations and details suggest themselves, as objects of paramount importance:

First. --The great disparity that exists, with reference to the space required for the interments of each State, necessitates a discrimination as to position and extent, while the peculiar solemnity of the interest attached by each State to each interment, allows of no distinction. Therefore, the arrangement must be of a kind that will obviate criticism as to position, and at the same time possess other equally important requirements and relations to the general design. (a)

Second. --The principal expression of the improvement should be that produced by simple grandeur and propriety.(b)

Third. --To arrange the roads, walks, trees and shrubs, so as to answer every purpose required by utility, and realize a pleasing landscape pleasure-ground effect, at the same time paying due regard to economy of construction, as well as to the future cost of maintenance and keeping the grounds.(c)

Fourth. --To select an appropriate site for the monument. (d)

(a) In order to secure the conditions embraced in the first of the above propositions, a semi-circular arrangement was adopted for the interments. By referring to the plan, the propriety of this mode will, I think, be conceded without further explanation. The ground appropriated to each State, is part, as it were, of a common centre; the position of each lot, and indeed of each interment, is relatively of equal importance, the only difference being that of extent, as determined by the number of interments belonging to each State. The coffins are deposited side by side, in parallel trenches. A space of twelve feet is allowed to each parallel, about five feet of which forms a grass path between each row of interments. The configuration of the ground surface is singularly appropriate at the point selected, falling away in a gradual and regular slope in every direction, from the centre to the circumference, a feature alike pleasing and desirable. In order to secure regularity, the headstones are precisely alike throughout the entire area of lots, and are constructed so as not to detract from the effect and prominence of the monument. The head-stones form a continuous line of granite blocks, rising nine inches above the ground, and showing a face or width of ten inches on their upper surface. The name, company and regiment being carved in the granite, opposite each interment, thus securing a simple and expressive arrangement, combined with great permanence and durability.

(b) The prevailing expression of the cemetery should be that of *simple grandeur*. Simplicity is that element of beauty in a scene that leads gradually from one object to another, in easy harmony, avoiding abrupt contrasts and unexpected features. Grandeur, in this application, is closely allied to solemnity. Solemnity is an attribute of the sublime. The sublime in scenery may be defined as continuity of extent, the repetition of objects in themselves simple and common place. We do not apply this epithet to the scanty tricklings of the brook, but rather to the collected waters of the ocean. To produce an expression of grandeur, we must avoid intricacy and great variety of parts, more particularly must we refrain from introducing any intermixture or meretricious display of ornament.

(c) The disposition of trees and shrubs is such as will ultimately produce a considerable degree of landscape effect. Ample spaces of lawn are provided; these will form vistas, as seen from the drive, showing the monument and other prominent points. Any abridgement of these lawns by planting further than is shown in the design, will tend to destroy the massive effect of the groupings, and in time would render the whole confused and intricate. As the trees spread and extend, the quiet beauty produced by these open spaces of lawn will yearly become more striking; designs of this character

require time for their development, and their ultimate harmony should not be impaired or sacrificed to immediate or temporary interest. Further, to secure proper *breath* of scene, few walks or roads are introduced. A main roadway or drive of sufficient width courses round the grounds; a few paths or walks are also provided for facilitating the inspection of the interment lots. Roads and walks are exclusively objects of utility; their introduction can only be justified by direct necessity.

(d) The centre of the semi-circle is reserved for the monument. An irregularly shaped belting of dwarf shrubbery borders partially isolate it from the lots. It may be suggested that the style of the monument should be in keeping with the surrounding improvements, showing no effort to an exhibition of cost or ostentatious display on the one hand, and no apparent desire to avoid reasonable expense on the other.

The gateway and gatehouse should also be designed in the same spirit, massive, solid substantial and tasteful.

With regard to the future keeping of the ground, the walks should be smooth, hard and clean, the grass kept short, and maintained as clean and neat as the best pleasure ground in the country. No effort should be wanting to attain excellence in this respect.

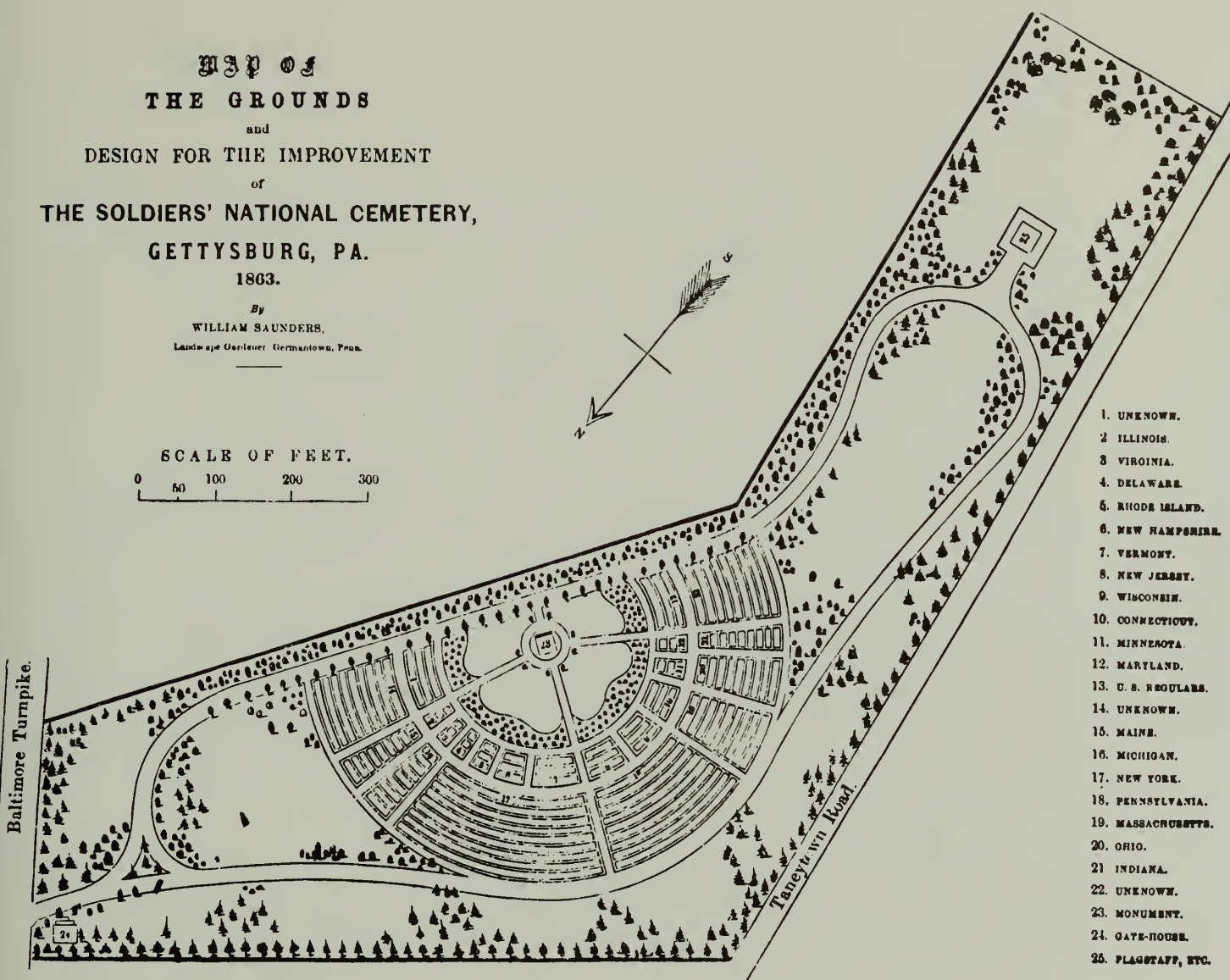
WILLIAM SAUNDERS.

DEPT OF AGRICULTURE,
Washington, D.C.

MAP OF
THE GROUNDS
and
DESIGN FOR THE IMPROVEMENT
of
THE SOLDIERS' NATIONAL CEMETERY,
GETTYSBURG, PA.
1863.

By
WILLIAM SAUNDERS,
Landscape Designer, Germantown, Penn.

SCALE OF FEET.
0 50 100 200 300



1. UNKNOWN.
2. ILLINOIS.
3. VIRGINIA.
4. DELAWARE.
5. RHODE ISLAND.
6. NEW HAMPSHIRE.
7. VERMONT.
8. NEW JERSEY.
9. WISCONSIN.
10. CONNECTICUT.
11. MINNESOTA.
12. MARYLAND.
13. U. S. REGULARS.
14. UNKNOWN.
15. MAINE.
16. MICHIGAN.
17. NEW YORK.
18. PENNSYLVANIA.
19. MASSACHUSETTS.
20. OHIO.
21. INDIANA.
22. UNKNOWN.
23. MONUMENT.
24. GATE-HOUSE.
25. FLAGSTAFF, ETC.

First Annual Report of the Commissioners Composing the Board of Managers of the Soldiers' National Cemetery, at Gettysburg, Penna., Made Dec. 7th, 1864, for the fiscal year ending Nov. 30th, 1864 (Philadelphia, 1864), pp. 18-20.

APPENDIX E:
AN ACT TO INCORPORATE THE SOLDIERS' NATIONAL CEMETERY

WHEREAS, The Commonwealth of Pennsylvania has purchased seventeen acres of land on Cemetery Hill, on the Gettysburg battle field, in the county of Adams, for a cemetery for the burial of the remains of the soldiers who fell in the battle of Gettysburg, and the skirmishes incident thereto, in defence of the Union, or died thereafter from wounds received in that battle and the skirmishes; therefore,

SECTION 1. *Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania in General Assembly met, and it is hereby enacted by the authority of the same,* That the titles to the said lands purchased, as set forth in the foregoing preamble, are hereby ratified and confirmed, and shall vest and remain in said Commonwealth, in fee simple, in trust for all the States having soldiers buried in said grounds; and the said grounds shall be devoted in perpetuity to the purpose for which they were purchased, namely: for the burial and place of final rest of the remains of the soldiers who fell in defence of the Union, in the battle of Gettysburg; and, also, the remains of the soldiers who fell at other points north of the Potomac river, in the several encounters with the enemy during the invasion of Lee, in the summer of one thousand eight hundred and sixty-three, or died thereafter in consequence of wounds received in said battle and during said invasion.

SECTION 2. That B. W. Norris, of the State of Maine, _____ of the State of New Hampshire, Paul Dillingham, of the State of Vermont, Henry Edwards, of the State of Massachusetts, John R. Bartlett, of the State of Rhode Island, Alfred Coit, of the State of Connecticut, Edward Cooper, of the State of New York, _____, of the State of New Jersey, David Wills, of the State of Pennsylvania, Benjamin Deford, of the State of Maryland, John R. Latimer, of the State of Delaware, _____, of the State of West Virginia, Gordon Lofland, of the State of Ohio, John G. Stephenson, of the State of Indiana, Clark E. Carr, of the State of Illinois, W. Y. Selleck, of the State of Wisconsin, Thomas White Ferry, of the State of Michigan, _____, of the State of Minnesota, being one Commissioner from each State, having soldiers buried in said cemetery, be and they and their successors are hereby created a body politic in law, under the name, style and title of the Soldiers' National Cemetery, and by that name, style and title shall have perpetual succession, and be able and capable in law to have and use a common seal, to sue and be sued, plead and be impleaded, in all courts of law and equity, and to do all such other things as are incident to a corporation.

SECTION 3. The care and management of the grounds referred to in the preamble and first section of this act, are hereby entrusted solely to the commissioners named in the second section of the same, and those hereafter appointed to represent the States therein named, and their successors in office; the said commissioners shall constitute a board of managers, whose duty it shall be, out of funds that may be in the hands of the treasurer of the corporation, by State appropriations, or otherwise, to remove the remains of all the soldiers referred to in the first section of act, that have not already been removed to the cemetery, and have them properly interred therein; and, also, to lay out, fence and ornament, to divide and arrange into suitable plots and burial lots, establish carriage-ways, avenues and foot-ways, erect buildings, and a monument, or monuments, and suitable marks to designate the graves, and generally to do all other things in their judgment necessary and proper to be done to adapt the ground and premises to the uses for which it has been purchased and set apart.

SECTION 4. The business of the corporation shall be conducted by the commissioners aforesaid and their successors in office; the said commissioners shall meet within sixty days after the passage of this act, and organize by electing one of their number president; they shall also appoint a secretary and treasurer, and shall have power to employ such other officers and agents as may be needful; they shall require of the treasurer to enter into bonds, to the corporation, in double the probable amount of money that may be in his hands at any one time during his term of office, with two or more

sufficient sureties, conditioned for the faithful discharge of his duties, and the correct accounting for and paying over of the money; which said bond, or bonds, shall be approved by the court of common pleas of Adams county, and recorded in the office of the recorder of deeds, in and for said county; the term of office of the officers of the board of commissioners aforesaid shall expire on the first day of January, of each and every year, or as soon thereafter as their successors may be duly chosen and qualified to act.

SECTION 5. At the first meeting of the commissioners heretofore named, they shall be divided, by lot, into three classes, and the term of office of the first class shall expire on the first day of January, Anno Domini one thousand eight hundred and sixty-five; the second class, on the first day of January, Anno Domini one thousand eight hundred and sixty-six, and the third class on the first day of January, Anno Domini one thousand eight hundred and sixty-seven; the vacancies thus occurring shall be filled by the Governors of the States which the said commissioners represented; and the persons thus appointed to fill such vacancies, shall hold their office, as commissioners aforesaid, for the term of three years. In case of the neglect, or failure, of the Governor of any State, having burial lots in the cemetery, to fill such vacancy, the board of commissioners may supply the place by appointing a citizen of the particular State which is not represented in the board by reason of such vacancy; any vacancies not yet filled, or hereafter occurring, in the board of commissioners, by death, resignation, or otherwise, shall be filled, by appointment, for the unexpired term, by the Governor of the State which the person represented, or in case of failure by such Governor to make said appointment, then the place shall be supplied as last above indicated; such other States of the Union, not having burial lots in said cemetery, but that may at any time hereafter desire to be represented in this corporation, shall have the privilege of nominating a Commissioner to represent them severally in the board of commissioners, and thereafter pay their proportionate share of the expense of maintaining said cemetery.

SECTION 6. The board of commissioners shall annually, at the end of each fiscal year, make a report of the condition and management of the cemetery; which report shall contain a detailed statement of the receipts and expenditures of the corporation, and a copy thereof shall be forwarded to the Governor of each State represented in the corporation. The expenses incident to the removal of the dead, the enclosing and ornamenting the cemetery, and all the work connected therewith, and its future maintenance, shall be apportioned among the States connecting themselves with the corporation, according to their population, as indicated by their representation in the House of Representatives of the United States.

SECTION 7. The board of commissioners shall adopt such by-laws, rules, and regulations, as they may deem necessary for their meetings and government, and for the government of their officers, agents, and employees, and for the care and protection of the cemetery grounds, and the property of the corporation: *Provided*, Said by-laws, rules, and regulations, be not inconsistent with the Constitution and laws of the United States, the Constitution and laws of the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania, and this act of incorporation.

SECTION 8. The board of commissioners shall have no power to appropriate any of the funds of the corporation as a compensation for their services as commissioners.

SECTION 9. The grounds and property of said cemetery shall be forever free from the levy of any State, county, or municipal taxes; and the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania hereby releases, and exempts, the corporation created by this act of Assembly from the payment of any enrolment tax, or any tax, or taxes, whatever, that might be imposed by existing laws; all the laws of this Commonwealth now in force, or which may hereafter be enacted, for the protection of cemeteries, burial grounds, and places of sepulture, shall apply with full force and effect to the Soldiers' National Cemetery, hereby incorporated, immediately from and after the passage of this act.

SECTION 10. The corporation of the Soldiers' National Cemetery shall have power to receive appropriations from the United States, and from the State Legislatures, and also devises, and bequests, gifts, annuities, and all other kinds of property, real and personal, for the purposes of the burial of the dead, enclosing and ornamenting the grounds, and maintaining the same, and erecting a monument, or monuments, therein.

HENRY C. JOHNSON,
Speaker of the House of Representatives
JOHN P. PENNEY,
Speaker of the Senate

APPROVED--The twenty-fifth day of March, Anno Domini one thousand eight hundred and sixty-four

A.G. CURTIN.

APPENDIX F:
SOLDIERS' CEMETERY AT GETTYSBURG
Inspected August 23, 1871.

This cemetery is situated just south of the village of Gettysburgh, on the north end and west side of what is known as "Cemetery Hill" in the accounts of the battle of Gettysburgh. It fronts east, on the Baltimore turnpike about three hundred feet, and this front is covered by a heavy cast-iron fence.

The main entrance is in this front, near the north end, and is closed by double iron gates over the carriage way, and two small side-gates supported by large square iron posts, on which are inscribed, in bronzed letters, the names of the States whose dead sleep within. Each post is surmounted by a large bronzed iron eagle. The gate-way, posts, &c., cost about \$1,850; the fence, \$7.66 per linear foot. On the north side, running across to the Taneytown road, there is a substantial stone wall laid in mortar and covered with a heavy coping of dressed granite, 8 inches thick and 23 inches wide, with the top slightly beveled. This side is 950 feet long.

A similar wall extends along the Taneytown road, nearly south 1,250 feet, then nearly east, across the south end, 300 feet. This wall cost \$4.87 per linear foot.

The town, or local cemetery, is on the summit of the hill, and is separated from the soldiers' cemetery by a fence made of wrought-iron pipes (gas-pipes 1¼ inches in diameter) screwed together and passing through cast-iron posts. The fence is 3 feet high, and has two rows of these pipes for rails, about a foot and a half apart. It is 1,726 feet long, viz: From Baltimore pike southwest, 960 feet; then south 766 feet; it cost \$2.35 per linear foot. On the inside (i.e. , on the north and west) of this fence an arbor vitae hedge has been planted; it is quite uneven, as many of the plants have died and have been replaced by smaller ones.

The lot contains seventeen acres of land, which slopes very gently to the north, northwest, and west, and commands very extensive views of the surrounding country, which is very beautiful.

On the highest part of the ground, and near the northwest corner of the town cemetery, is placed the very handsome and costly monument erected by the association to the memory of the brave men who died here in defense of the Union, and whose deeds have been rendered immortal by the imperishable words of President Lincoln, in his dedicatory address at the laying of the corner-stone of this monument, on the 4th of July, 1864.

The base of the monument is surrounded by a small circular grass-plat, and is inclosed by a light iron fence. A drive surrounds this circle, and a border of shrubs surrounds the drive, then come the graves, arranged in concentric semi-circles, divided by walks into sectors of different sizes. The semi-circles are separated from each other also by paths, and each semi-circle constitutes a little terrace.

The graves are arranged in a single row in each terrace, and are classified by States as far as known. They are all well sodded, and the grass is kept neatly cut.

The graves are marked by having a continuous granite curbing along the outer edge of each terrace, and opposite each grave the name, regiment, &c., of the occupant have been cut on the upper surface of the curbing. The curbing is laid on a stone foundation extending below frost, and the curb-stones are clamped together on top with iron. The stone for this purpose was obtained near by; the cost of the work was \$4 per linear foot, or \$12 per grave.

These grave-plats occupy about 2¼ acres, including the monument; the rest of the grounds are devoted to ornamental purposes.

Cast-iron seats of a very neat pattern and iron vases have been placed very freely around and among the grave-plats.

The interments are as follows, viz:

	Known.	Unknown	Total.
Maine	87	17	104
New Hampshire	22	27	49
Vermont	43	18	61
Massachusetts	157	2	159
Rhode Island	12	--	12
Connecticut	22	--	22
New York	597	270	867
New Jersey	43	35	78
Pennsylvania	357	177	534
Delaware	15	--	15
Maryland	16	6	22
West Virginia	11	--	11
Ohio	127	4	131
Indiana	62	18	80
Illinois	5	1	6
Michigan	168	3	171
Wisconsin	53	20	73
Minnesota	32	20	52
United States regulars	102	36	138
Unknown, name or State	--	979	979
Total	1,931	1,633	3,564

The bodies were removed soon after the battle from the places of original interment in the vicinity of the battle-field, and very great pains were taken to identify them.

From the main entrance a drive, twenty-five feet wide, well graded and graveled, extends southwest along the division line between this and the local cemetery, passing by and around the monument; then turns to the north and descends to near the Taneytown road, and returns below the grave-plats to the place of entrance. At this point of intersection there is a triangular space reserved for a monument to General John F. Reynolds. The base and pedestal for this monument had been laid at the time of this inspection. It is expected that the monument will be completed this year.

The grounds have been very handsomely ornamented with trees and shrubs, selected and grouped by Mr. William Saunders, the eminent landscape gardener, in charge of the public gardens in Washington.

No flag-staff has been erected in the grounds. When the cemetery is transferred to the United States, and it is expected that it will be next season, a flag-staff should be put up; and I would suggest that it be placed near the southeast corner, just above (south of) the Reynolds monument, instead of in the southwest portion, beyond the return curve in the main drive, as designated in the plan of the grounds.

The lodge is in the northeast corner, right at the main entrance. It is a square stone building, having three rooms on ground-floor. A Mansard roof has been put on since it was built, and a piazza, all around, has been added. The architectural effect is not very pleasing, but the building is comfortable and substantial. The out-buildings are judiciously arranged. Water is supplied from a well near the lodge.

No expenditures by the United States Government have been made.

Letter From the Secretary of War, Communicating, In Obedience to Law, the Report of the Inspector of the National Cemeteries for the Years 1870 and 1871, Ex. Doc. 79, pp. 15-17.

APPENDIX G:
AN ACT TO INCORPORATE THE
GETTYSBURG BATTLE-FIELD MEMORIAL ASSOCIATION

SECTION 1. *Be it enacted*, etc., That Joseph R. Ingersoll, T. D. Carson, D. McConaughy, Wm. McSherry, A. D. Buehler, R. G. McCreary, J. B. Danner, George Arnold, J. L. Shick, James H. Marshall, Henry C. Carey, J. G. Fell, Alexander Henry, Edmund A. Souder, Theodore Cuyler, Wm. Strong, S. A. Mercer, H. C. Baird, Thomas M. Howe, N. B. Craig, John P. Penny, Wm. H. Robinson, Jr., James L. Graham, Harvey Childs, George G. Meade, Thomas J. Bingham, A. O. Heister, James Worrall, James L. Reynolds, S. W. Crawford, Winfield S. Hancock, John L. Atlee, William Kinsey, Samuel Small, F. M. Kimmell, P. Frazier Smith, J. McD. Sharp, H. C. Johnson, John Cessna, B. B. Vincent, John Scott, Wm. A. Wallace, George W. Householder, John S. McCalmont, Daniel Agnew, Wm. Hopkins, John P. Crozier, Wm. H. Miller, A. K. McClure, John D. Cochran, J. N. McAlister, C. L. Pershing, R. A. McMurtrie, their associates, who have subscribed and all others who shall hereafter subscribe to the fund devoted to the preservation of the battle-field of Gettysburg, and their successors, be and they are hereby made a body politic and corporate, by the name, style, and title of the Gettysburg Battle-field Memorial Association, and by that name shall be able and capable, in law, to have, and use, a common seal, to sue and be sued, plead, and be impleaded, and to do all such other things as are incident to a corporation.

SECTION 2. That the object of said Association shall be, to hold and preserve, the battle-grounds of Gettysburg, on which were fought the actions of the first, second, and third days of July, Anno Domini one thousand eight hundred and sixty-three, with the natural and artificial defences, as they were at the time of said battle, and by such perpetuation, and such memorial structures as a generous and patriotic people may aid to erect, to commemorate the heroic deeds, the struggles, and the triumphs of their brave defenders.

SECTION 3. That for its said purpose, the said Association shall have power to take, and to hold, by gift, grant, devise, purchase, or lease, such personal property and effects, and all such portions of said battle-grounds as may be necessary, or convenient, to promote and accomplish the object of its incorporation, to enclose, and perpetuate, said grounds and defences, to keep them in repair and a state of preservation, to construct and maintain ways and roads, to improve and ornament the grounds and to erect and promote the erection by voluntary contributions of structures and works of art and taste thereon, adapted to designate the spots of special interest, to commemorate the great deeds of valor, endurance, and noble self-sacrifice, and to perpetuate the memory of the heroes, and the signal events, which render these battle-grounds illustrious; and, to these ends, to make such by-laws, rules, and regulations as may be necessary, and proper, for the government of the affairs and promotion of the purposes of said Association; the property of said Association shall not be subject to attachment, or execution, and the lands acquired for the purposes of said Association, with its personal property, and the improvements and appurtenances shall be forever exempt from taxation, and also from the payment of an enrolment tax.

SECTION 4. That the property, and affairs, of said Association shall be managed by a president and a board of thirteen directors, with a secretary, treasurer, and other necessary officers, by them to be selected; to be chosen annually, from the subscribers, by a majority of the votes given, each subscriber to be entitled to a single vote; the said officers to serve one year, or until successors are elected; the election to be held annually, on the first Monday of June, at Gettysburg; public notice thereof to be given by publication, in one newspaper in Gettysburg, Philadelphia, Harrisburg, and Pittsburg, at least two weeks previous to such election.

SECTION 5. That said Association shall have power to issue certificates of membership to all persons who shall subscribe one or more shares to the said Battle-field Memorial Fund; the amount of a single share to be fixed by the board of directors, and not to exceed ten dollars; and all subscribers, upon payment, and receipt of such certificates, shall be entitled to vote at all elections of said Association.

SECTION 6. That the president, directors, and treasurer, shall make annual reports, on the day of the annual election, to be presented to the members, and read and published, which shall be duly certified, and shall exhibit fully and accurately the receipts, expenses, and expenditures of the said Association.

Approved The thirtieth day of April, Anno Domini one thousand eight hundred and sixty-four.

A. G. CURTIN,
Governor.

APPENDIX H:
A SUPPLEMENT TO AN ACT ENTITLED "AN ACT TO INCORPORATE THE
GETTYSBURG BATTLE-FIELD MEMORIAL ASSOCIATION," APPROVED APRIL 30, 1864

SECTION 1. *Be it enacted*, etc., That if any person shall wilfully destroy, mutilate, deface, injure, or remove any monument, column, statue, memorial structure or work of art that shall be erected or placed upon the battle-ground held, or which shall be held, by said Association, or shall wilfully destroy or remove any fence, railing, enclosure, or other work for the protection or ornament of said battle-ground, or any portion thereof that may be held by said Association, or shall wilfully destroy, cut, hack, bark, break down, or otherwise injure any tree, bush, or shrubbery that may be growing upon said battle-ground, or shall cut down, or fell, and remove any timber, tree, or trees, growing or being upon such battle-grounds, or shall wilfully remove or destroy any breastworks, earthworks, or other defences or shelter, on any part thereof, constructed by the armies or any portion of the forces engaged in the battle of Gettysburg; any person so offending, and found guilty thereof before any justice of the peace of the county of Adams, shall, for each and every such offence, forfeit and pay a fine, in the discretion of the justice, according to the aggravation of the offence, of not less than five nor more than fifty dollars, one-half to the use of said company, and the other half to the informer, to be enforced and recovered, before said justice, in like manner as debts of like are now recoverable, in any action of debt, brought in the name of the commonwealth, as well for the use of said company as of the person suing.

SECTION 2. That in addition to the penalty provided in the first section of this act, for the offences therein prohibited, any person who shall be guilty of either of the

offences therein named, shall be deemed guilty of a misdemeanor, and on conviction thereof, in the court of quarter sessions of the said county of Adams, shall be punished by fine, not exceeding one hundred dollars, or imprisonment for not more than thirty days, or both, in the discretion of the said court.

SECTION 3. That the president and directors of the said Gettysburg Battle-field Memorial Association shall have power and authority, by themselves, committees, engineer, surveyor, superintendent, or agents, by them to be appointed, to survey, locate, and lay out roads and avenues from any public road or roads in the vicinity of Gettysburg, or of the said battle-grounds, to and upon, and also in and through, any portion or portions of said battle-grounds, not, however, passing through any dwelling-house, or any burying-ground, or any place of public worship, and to open and fence, or otherwise enclose, such roads and avenues, the latter of a width not exceeding three hundred feet; and the same may be laid out so as to embrace any breastworks, or lines of defences, or positions of the forces engaged in the battle of Gettysburg, and with power to plant rows or colonnades of trees upon said roads and avenues; *Provided*, That it shall be lawful for such Association to enter upon adjoining lands and take materials necessary for the construction and repair of such roads and avenues, in like manner, and with like power, as in the case of railroads, under the act regulating railroad companies, approved the nineteenth of February, Anno Domini one thousand eight hundred and forty-nine, and its supplements; *Provided further*, That before such Association shall enter upon and take possession of any such lands for roads, or avenues, or such materials, they shall make ample compensation to the owner or owners thereof, or tender adequate security therefor; *And provided further*, That when the said company cannot agree with the owner or owners of any such lands which said Association may enter upon, use, or take for any such roads or avenues, the like proceedings shall be had to ascertain, determine, and recover damages, on account of the taking and appropriating such lands for roads or avenues as are provided for ascertaining and recovering damages by land-owners from railroad companies by the said act regulating railroad companies, and its supplements. *Approved* The twenty-fourth day of April, Anno Domini one thousand eight hundred and sixty-six.

A. G. CURTIN,
Governor.

**APPENDIX I:
DIRECTORS OF THE GETTYSBURG MEMORIAL BATTLEFIELD ASSOCIATION:
1872-1880**

General John W. Geary, Governor of Pennsylvania, President, deceased	1872
David McConaughy, Gettysburg, Vice-President	1872-1879
Henry C. Carey, Esq., Philadelphia, deceased	1872-1879
General J. Watts De Peyster, New York	1872-1879
Wm. M. Hirsh, Gettysburg, deceased	1872-1879
Hon. A. D. Heister, Pennsylvania, deceased	1872-1874
Joel B. Danner, Gettysburg, deceased	1872-1874
George Arpold, Gettysburg, deceased	1872-1879
Alexander D. Buehler, Gettysburg	1872-1879
Charles Horner, M.D., Gettysburg, deceased	1872 1879
J. Lawrence Schick, Esq., Gettysburg	1872-1879
John M. Krauth, Esq., Gettysburg, deceased	1872-1879
Edward Souder, Gettysburg, deceased	1872-1873
H. N. McAllister, Esq., Gettysburg, deceased	1872
General Charles K. Graham, New York, deceased	1873-1879
General John F. Hartranft, Governor of Pennsylvania, President, deceased	1873-1878
General Alexander S. Webb, New York	1873-1879
General Horatio G. Sickel, Pennsylvania, deceased . . .	1874-1879
Hon. Edward McPherson, Gettysburg, deceased	1875
R. G. McCreary, Esq., Gettysburg, deceased	1876-1879

Vanderslice, *Gettysburg Then and Now*, p. 392.

DIRECTORS OF THE GETTYSBURG BATTLEFIELD MEMORIAL ASSOCIATION: 1880-1896

General Henry M. Hoyt, Governor of Pennsylvania, President, deceased	1879-1882
R. G. McCreary, Esq., Gettysburg, Vice-President, de- ceased	1880-1883
John M. Krauth, Esq., Gettysburg, Secretary from 1872 to time of decease in 1890	1880-1887
General W. S. Hancock, Pennsylvania, deceased	1880-1884
General S. W. Crawford, Pennsylvania, deceased	1880-1892
General Louis Wagner, Philadelphia	1880-1896
John M. Vanderslice, Esq., Philadelphia	1880-1882, 1884-1896
Major Chill W. Hazzard, Pennsylvania	1880-1882, 1884-1896
Captain John Taylor, Philadelphia, deceased	1880-1884
Colonel Chas. H. Buehler, Gettysburg, Vice-President from 1887 to 1896, deceased	1880-1896
J. L. Schick, Treasurer from 1880 to 1896	1880-1896
Major Robert Bell, Gettysburg	1880-1886
Charles Horner, M.D., Gettysburg	1880-1887
N. G. Wilson, Gettysburg, Superintendent of Grounds, 1880 to 1894	1880-1886
John B. Bachelder, Massachusetts, deceased	1880-1881, 1883-1894
Robert E. Pattison, Governor of Pennsylvania, President 1883-1886, 1891-1894	
General Joshua L. Chamberlain, Maine	1883
General John C. Robinson, New York, deceased	1883
General George Stannard, Vermont, deceased	1883
William S. Holtzworth, Gettysburg, deceased	1884-1888
D. A. Buehler, Gettysburg, Vice-President, deceased	1883-1887
Colonel Eli G. Sellers, Philadelphia	1885
Colonel W. W. Dudley, Indiana	1885
General Henry A. Barnum, New York, deceased	1885-1891
Colonel Frank D. Sloat, Connecticut	1885-1896
Colonel Elisha H. Rhodes, Rhode Island	1885-1887
General Byron R. Pierce, Michigan, deceased	1885-1887
John C. Linehan, New Hampshire	1885-1896
Colonel Charles L. Young, Ohio	1885-1896
Colonel Silas Colgrove, Indiana	1886-1887
General Lucius Fairchild, Wisconsin, deceased	1886-1896
General James A. Beaver, Governor of Pennsylvania, President	1887-1890
Captain Wm. E. Miller, Pennsylvania	1887-1892
Calvin Hamilton, Gettysburg, Secretary from 1890 to 1896	1887-1890
Captain H. W. McKnight, D.D., Gettysburg	1887-1896
Captain John P. Rea, Minnesota	1888
Colonel Wheelock G. Veazey, Vermont	1888-1896
Colonel George C. Briggs, Michigan	1888-1896
William A. Kitzmiller, Gettysburg	1888-1896

Hon. S. Mc. Swope, Gettysburg	1888-1896
Hon. Edward McPherson, Gettysburg, deceased	1889-1896
General Henry W. Slocum, New York, deceased	1889-1894
General Daniel E. Sickles, New York	1892-1896
General Joseph B. Carr, New York, deceased	1892-1893
C. E. Goldsborough, M.D., Gettysburg	1892-1896
General David McM. Gregg, Pennsylvania	1893-1896
General Alexander S. Webb, New York	1893-1896
General Daniel S. Hastings, Governor of Pennsylvania, President	1895-1896
Colonel John P. Nicholson, Philadelphia	1895-1896
General George S. Greene, New York	1895-1896

Vanderslice, *Gettysburg Then and Now*, p. 392, 395-96.

APPENDIX J:
AMENDMENTS TO CHARTER OF
GETTYSBURG BATTLEFIELD MEMORIAL ASSOCIATION:
APRIL 21, 1885

SECTION 1. The property and affairs of the Gettysburg Battle-field Memorial Association shall be managed by a President and a Board of Twenty-one Directors, to be chosen annually by the members of the Association by a majority of the votes given at the annual election, together with such *ex-officio* Directors as are hereinafter provided for; *Provided*, however, that the Association shall have power, by by-law or resolution, from time to time to enlarge or diminish the number of elective Directors, if deemed advisable.

SECTION 2. The election for President and Directors shall be held annually on the first Monday of June, at Gettysburg; at which election each member of the Association shall be entitled to one vote in person or by proxy; and the Directors so elected shall serve for one year or until successors are elected. In case of failure, for any reason, to hold said election on the first Monday in June, an election may be held on such day thereafter as the officers or executive committee may designate. Public notice of said election shall be given by publication in one newspaper in Gettysburg, Philadelphia, Harrisburg, and Pittsburg, at least two weeks previous thereto.

SECTION 3. The Governor of the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania shall be, *ex officio*, President of the Association; and the Governors of such States as shall, by legisla-

tive appropriation, contribute funds for the support of the Association, shall be, *ex officio*, members of the Board of Directors, with power (if unable to be present) to substitute, under the official seal of the State, some one of its citizens to represent the State in the meetings of the Board.

SECTION 4. The Directors shall have power to choose from their number a Vice-President, Secretary, Treasurer, Executive Committee, and such other officers as may be deemed necessary, and to prescribe the respective duties and powers of said officers by resolution or by-law.

SECTION 5. There shall be a meeting of the Board of Directors at least once in every year at Gettysburg, at such time as may be determined by resolution or by-law, of which meeting notice shall be given in writing, signed by the Secretary, and sent to each Director by mail or otherwise, at least two weeks before the time of such meeting. And if, at such meeting, eleven of the said Directors shall not be present, those of them who shall be present shall have power to adjourn to any other time as fully as if all the Directors were present; but if eleven or more of the said Directors shall meet at the appointed time, or at such adjourned meeting, such eleven or more Directors shall be a quorum of the Board, capable of transacting the business of the Association. Special meetings of the Board of Directors may be called, subject to like notice, on the request of the Executive Committee.

SECTION 6. So much of the Act of Assembly of April 30, 1864, and the Supplement thereto, incorporating this Association, as may be inconsistent with these amendments, is hereby repealed.

APPENDIX K:
BY-LAWS OF GETTYSBURG BATTLEFIELD MEMORIAL ASSOCIATION:
JUNE 16, 1885

1. At the first meeting of the Board of Directors held in each year after the annual election, there shall be chosen by ballot, unless otherwise directed, a vice-president, secretary, treasurer, superintendent of tablets, superintendent of grounds, and an executive committee of eleven directors, who shall continue in office until successors shall have been elected.

2. The Vice-President, in the absence of the President, shall represent the Association in the execution of contracts, instruments of writing, etc., and in general discharge all official duties which would devolve on the President if personally present.

3. The Secretary shall keep and record, in a book provided for that purpose, minutes of all proceedings of the Board of Directors and of the Executive Committee, conduct the correspondence of the Association, send written or printed notices to directors of their election and of all regular or special meetings of the Board, and attest all orders drawn on the Treasurer.

4. The Treasurer shall have custody of the moneys of the Association, and be authorized to receive and receipt for gifts of money, membership fees, and legislative appropriations, and shall pay out the same upon orders of the President or Vice-President, attested by the Secretary. He shall give bond in the sum of twenty-five hundred dollars, with sureties to be approved by the Executive Committee, for the faithful discharge of his duties, and shall make a detailed written report of all receipts and disbursements during the year, at the annual meeting of the Association.

5. The duties of Superintendent of Tablets, and Superintendent of Grounds shall be such as may be prescribed by the Board of Directors or Executive Committee from time to time.

6. The Executive Committee shall be charged with carrying out the action of the Board of Directors from time to time, and they shall have power (between the meetings of the Board) to transact all the business of the Association requiring immediate attention, subject, nevertheless, to and in accordance with the general rules, regulations, and policy of the Association which the Board from time to time may prescribe. Seven members of the Executive Committee shall be necessary to constitute a quorum for the transaction of business. They shall make report in writing at each meeting of the Board of Directors. The Vice-President of the Association shall be chairman of the Executive Committee, and the Secretary of the Association shall be secretary of the committee.

7. No salaries shall be paid to the officers or directors, except the Secretary, who shall be paid annually the sum of \$100; but they may be reimbursed for expenses incurred by them in attending to the business of the Association.

APPENDIX L:
REGULATIONS FOR ERECTIONS OF MONUMENTS AND MEMORIALS
ON THE GROUNDS OF THE GBMA: JULY 3, 1888

The following rules regulating the erection of monuments and memorials must be strictly complied with :

1. All persons are forbidden, under the penalty of the law, to place, change, or remove any stake or marker on the grounds under the control of the Memorial Association without the knowledge and consent of the Superintendent of Grounds.

2. Any one who shall construct any foundation for, or erect any monument or memorial upon the grounds of the Association before the Superintendent of Grounds shall have designated the place and given a permit, will be regarded as a trespasser and be amenable to the severe penalties provided for in the charter of the Association.

3. The Superintendent shall not permit the erection of any monument or memorial until its location and the inscription to be placed thereon shall have been approved by the proper committee of the Association.

4. All monuments or memorials hereafter erected must be of granite or real bronze.

5. On the front of each monument must be the number of the regiment or battery, State, brigade, division, and corps, in letters not less than four inches long, and, in addition thereto, the time the regiment held the position, and a brief statement of any important movement it made.

If the regiment was actively engaged, its effective strength and casualties must be given, which must agree with the official records of the War Department. If it was in reserve it should be so stated.

If the same position was held by other troops, or if the command occupied more than one important position, the inscription should explain it.

All lettering must be deeply and distinctly cut.

Any statue or figure of a soldier must be so placed as to face the enemy's line.

6. The monument must be on the line of battle held by the brigade unless the regiment was detached, and, if possible, the right and left flanks of the regiment or battery must be marked with stones not less than two feet in height.

If the same line was held by other troops, the monuments must be placed in the order in which the several commands occupied the grounds, the first being on the first line, the second at least twenty feet in the rear of it, and so on, the inscriptions explaining the movements.

7. Where practicable, ground must be filled in to the top of the foundation and well and neatly sodded.

8. Two copies of the inscription must be sent to the Secretary of the Association, one to be returned approved and the other to be placed on file with the Secretary, and they should be distinct from other written matter.

"RECOMMENDATIONS.

As the memorials erected upon this field will not only mark the positions held by the several commands, but will also be regimental or battery monuments, and in most instances the only ones ever erected by them, the Memorial Association strongly recommends that the inscription be not only historically accurate, but be sufficient in detail to give an idea of the services of the command. This may add slightly to the cost, but it will add much more to the completeness of the monument.

In the years to come, when the identity of the regiment shall have been merged in the history of the battle, the visitor to this great battle-field will be interested to know just where the troops from his city or county fought, and to learn something of the services rendered by them.

It is therefore recommended that upon one side of the monument should be stated the part of the State from which the regiment was recruited, dates of muster in and muster out, total strength and losses during its service, and the battles in which it participated.

"SUGGESTIONS.

It is the desire and determination of the Gettysburg Battle-field Memorial Association to secure the greatest possible historical accuracy for the legends of the monuments erected on the field.

It has been decided by the Board of Directors to adopt the official records of the battle, recently compiled at the Adjutant General's office, as to the strength and casualties of the several commands in the battle, believing that the historical data thus secured would generally be more accurate than that which individuals could furnish.

The War Department record may not be absolutely correct,—men reported wounded afterwards died, others reported missing were afterwards found to be wounded or killed,—but it has been found necessary at the Adjutant-General's office to establish a limit, and that limit is the official return.

There is nothing in this rule, however, to prevent monument committees from having the record of their commands

revised at the War Department, and any changes furnished officially from the Adjutant-General's office will be cheerfully adopted by the Association. Or if it is known that a soldier reported wounded afterwards died of his wounds, or one who was reported "missing" is known to have been killed, a corresponding revision may be made in the inscription and the name added to a list designated "killed or mortally wounded." Or if wounded only, the name may be changed from the list of missing to the list of wounded, but the aggregate must remain unchanged and a report of the case must be submitted with the inscription.

If monument committees add names of other battles, they must assume the responsibility of their accuracy, and the official name of the battle adopted at the War Department must be given. Such list it is desirable should be preceded by the date of the muster in and followed by the date of the muster out of the regiment.

Deep and solid foundations are of the utmost importance. A strata of rock comes very near the surface on many parts of the field. Where it does not, a few dollars additional will secure a permanent and satisfactory foundation. A few dollars saved from the foundation may jeopardize the entire structure.

The flank stones placed with the number of the regiment cut on the faces nearest the monument will readily determine the alignment.

Permanence and durability in lettering should be the aim. Whether the letter is sunk or raised, it should be deep and sharp, that it may be easily read, and particularly that it may withstand the ravages of time.

Each monument should stand high enough to secure ready drainage. No more proper setting or finish can be given it than a carpet of good sod, well enriched. The pleasing effect of a beautiful monument may be entirely neutralized by untidy surroundings, and if not put in order at first it will seldom be done afterwards.

C. H. BUEHLER,

Vice-President.

Attest : JOHN M. KRAUTH, *Secretary.*

APPENDIX M:
AN ACT TO ESTABLISH A NATIONAL MILITARY PARK AT
GETTYSBURG, PENNSYLVANIA, APPROVED FEBRUARY 11, 1895 (28 STAT. 651)

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That the Secretary of War is hereby authorized to receive from the Gettysburg Battlefield Memorial Association, a corporation chartered by the State of Pennsylvania, a deed of conveyance to the United States of all the lands belonging to said association, embracing about eight hundred acres, more or less, and being a considerable part of the battlefield of Gettysburg, together with all rights of way over avenues through said lands acquired by said association, and all improvements made by it in and upon the same. Upon the due execution and delivery to the Secretary of War of such deed of conveyance, the Secretary of War is authorized to pay to the said Battlefield Memorial Association the sum of two thousand dollars, or so much thereof as may be necessary to discharge the debts of said association, the amount of such debts to be verified by the officers thereof, and the sum of two thousand dollars is hereby appropriated out of any money in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated to meet and defray such charges.

SEC. 2. That as soon as the lands aforesaid shall be conveyed to the United States the Secretary of War shall take possession of the same, and such other lands on the battlefield as the United States have acquired, or shall hereafter acquire, by purchase or condemnation proceedings; and the lands aforesaid, shall be designated and known as the "Gettysburg National Park."

SEC. 3. That the Gettysburg national park shall, subject to the supervision and direction of the Secretary of War, be in charge of the commissioners heretofore appointed by the Secretary of War for the location and acquisition of lands at Gettysburg, and their successors; the said commissioners shall have their office at Gettysburg, and while on duty shall be paid such compensation out of the appropriation provided in this Act as the Secretary of War shall deem reasonable and just. And it shall be the duty of the said commissioners, under the direction of the Secretary of War, to superintend the opening of such additional roads as may be necessary for the purposes of the park and for the improvement of the avenues heretofore laid out therein, and to properly mark the boundaries of the said park, and to ascertain and definitely mark the lines of battle of all troops engaged in the battle of Gettysburg, so far as the same shall fall within the limits of the park.

SEC. 4. That the Secretary of War is hereby authorized and directed to acquire, at such times and in such manner as he may deem best calculated to serve the public interest, such lands in the vicinity of Gettysburg, Pennsylvania, not exceeding in area the parcels shown on the map prepared by Major-General Daniel E. Sickles, United States Army, and now on file in the office of the Secretary of War, which were occupied by the infantry, cavalry and artillery on the first, second and third days of July, eighteen hundred and sixty-three, and such

other adjacent lands as he may deem necessary to preserve the important topographical features of the battlefield: *Provided*, That nothing contained in this Act shall be deemed and held to prejudice the rights acquired by any State or by any military organization to the ground on which its monuments or markers are placed, nor the right of way to the same.

SEC. 5. That for the purpose of acquiring the lands designated and described in the foregoing section not already acquired and owned by the United States, and such other adjacent land as may be deemed necessary by the Secretary of War for the preservation and marking of the lines of battle of the Union and Confederate armies at Gettysburg, the Secretary of War is authorized to employ the services of the commissioners heretofore appointed by him for the location, who shall proceed, in conformity with his instructions and subject in all things to his approval, to acquire such lands by purchase, or by condemnation proceedings, to be taken by the Attorney-General in behalf of the United States, in any case in which it shall be ascertained that the same can not be purchased at prices deemed reasonable and just by the said commissioners and approved by the Secretary of War. And such condemnation proceedings may be taken pursuant to the Act of Congress approved August first, eighteen hundred and eighty-eight, regulating the condemnation of land for public uses, or the Joint Resolution authorizing the purchase or condemnation of land in the vicinity of Gettysburg, Pennsylvania, approved June fifth, eighteen hundred and ninety-four.

SEC. 6. That it shall be the duty of the Secretary of War to establish and enforce proper regulations for the custody, preservation, and care of the monuments now erected or which may be hereafter erected within the limits of the said national military park; and such rules shall provide for convenient access by visitors to all such monuments within the park, and the ground included therein, on such days and within such hours as may be designated and authorized by the Secretary of War.

SEC. 7. That if any person shall destroy, mutilate, deface, injure, or remove, except by permission of the Secretary of War, any column, statue, memorial structure, or work of art that shall be erected or placed upon the grounds of the park by lawful authority, or shall destroy or remove any fence, railing, inclosure, or other work for the protection or ornament of said park or any portion thereof, or shall destroy, cut, hack, bark, break down, or otherwise injure any tree, bush, or shrubbery that may be growing upon said park, or shall cut down or fell or remove any timber, battle relic, tree or trees, growing or being upon said park, or hunt within the

limits of the park, or shall remove or destroy any breastworks, earthworks, walls, or other defenses or shelter or any part thereof constructed by the armies formerly engaged in the battles on the land or approaches to the park, or shall violate any regulation made and published by the Secretary of War for the government of visitors within the limits of said park, any person so offending and found guilty thereof, before any justice of the peace of the county in which the offense may be committed, shall, for each and every such offense, forfeit and pay a fine, in the discretion of the justice, according to the aggravation of the offense, of not less than five nor more than five hundred dollars, one-half for the use of the park and the other half to the informer, to be enforced and recovered before such justice in like manner as debts of like nature are now by law recoverable in the county where the offense may be committed.

SEC. 8. That the Secretary of War is hereby authorized and directed to cause to be made a suitable bronze tablet, containing on it the address delivered by Abraham Lincoln, President of the United States, at Gettysburg on the nineteenth day of November, eighteen hundred and sixty-three, on the occasion of the dedication of the national cemetery at that place, and such tablet, having on it besides the address a medallion likeness of President Lincoln, shall be erected on the most suitable site within the limits of said park, which said address was in the following words, to wit:

“Four score and seven years ago our fathers brought forth on this continent a new nation, conceived in liberty and dedicated to the proposition that all men are created equal.

“Now we are engaged in a great civil war, testing whether that nation, or any nation so conceived and so dedicated, can long endure. We are met on a great battlefield of that war. We have come to dedicate a portion of that field as a final resting place for those who here gave their lives that that nation might live. It is altogether fitting and proper that we should do this.

“But, in a larger sense, we can not dedicate, we can not consecrate, we can not hallow this ground. The brave men, living and dead, who struggled here, have consecrated it far above our poor power to add or detract. The world will little note, nor long remember, what we say here; but it can never forget what they did here. It is for us, the living, rather to be dedicated here to the unfinished work which they who fought here have thus far so nobly advanced. It is rather for us to be here dedicated to the great task remaining before us; that from these honored dead we take increased devotion to that cause for which they gave the last full measure of devotion; that we here highly resolve that these dead shall

not have died in vain; that this nation, under God, shall have a new birth of freedom, and that government of the people, by the people, for the people, shall not perish from the earth."

And the sum of five thousand dollars, or so much thereof as may be necessary, is hereby appropriated, out of any money in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated, to pay the cost of said tablet and medallion and pedestal.

SEC. 9. That, to enable the Secretary of War to carry out the purposes of this Act, including the purchase or condemnation of the land described in sections four and five of this Act, opening, improving, and repairing necessary roads and avenues, providing surveys and maps, suitably marking the boundaries of the park, and for the pay and expenses of the commissioners and their assistants, the sum of seventy-five thousand dollars, or so much thereof as may be necessary, is hereby appropriated, out of any money in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated; and all disbursements made under this Act shall require the approval of the Secretary of War, who shall make annual report of the same to Congress. (16 U.S.C. § 430g as amended.)

APPENDIX N:
REGULATIONS FOR THE GOVERNMENT OF THE
GETTYSBURG NATIONAL MILITARY PARK,
GETTYSBURG, PENNA., 1911

I All avenues within the Park are for the sole purpose of enabling visitors to view the battlefield ; they are in no sense public highways and must not be used for business or transportation purposes, or as a highway for travel.

II All driving must be on the right side of the road-bed, but a carriage passing another in the same direction must pass on the left. Fast driving is prohibited.

III Tires of wheels to carriages having more than two seats must be of the following widths : Two-horse wagon with three seats (for six people) 2 inches ; with four seats (for eight people) 2 inches ; with five seats (for ten people) $2\frac{1}{4}$ inches ; with six seats (for twelve people) $2\frac{1}{2}$ inches ; with more than six seats $3\frac{1}{2}$ inches.

IV Camping parties are forbidden without permission of the U. S. Commission and then only upon such part of the lands as they may approve. Such parties will be held responsible for forest fires or other damages caused by them.

V The carrying of any gun or trap within the limits of the Park is prohibited.

VI No dog is permitted to be at large within the Park. Owners or custodians of any dog trespassing in the Park will be held responsible for such trespass.

VII Neither cattle, horses nor swine nor any other grazing animal will be permitted to roam at large or graze on the grounds or along the roads. Loose animals will be impounded, and released only on the payment of a suitable fine.

VIII No person other than authorized employees, except as hereinafter provided, will be permitted to reside permanently or to engage in any business within the Park, except by authority of the Secretary of War. Employees of the Park are not to engage in any other occupation, such as farming, gardening, merchandise or other private business, except by authority of the U. S. Commission.

IX No drinking saloon, bar-room or gambling establishment will be permitted within the limits of the Park and all peddling or selling of anything on Sundays or for profit within the limits of the Park, without the written permit of the Commissioners, is prohibited.

X Advertisements or private notices shall not be posted or displayed within the Park nor along the public roads over which jurisdiction has been ceded to the United States.

XI All persons are prohibited from displacing or removing, writing on or marking stones, stakes, fences, buildings or other appurtenances.

XII Employees of the Commission must be at all times courteous to visitors. Visitors are expected to be orderly. They are invited to report to the Commission in writing any incivility or neglect on the part of guides and employees.

XIII

Leases of land will be made annually during the month of October for the year beginning the first day of April next thereafter and upon the condition "That tenants will preserve the present buildings and roads, and the present outlines of field and forest, and that they will cut only trees or underbrush under such regulations as the Commission may prescribe, or designate, and that they will assist in caring for and protecting all tablets, monuments or such other artificial works as may be from time to time erected by proper authority." All rentals shall be payable or secured to be paid for the entire year and in advance. Lessees who conduct themselves in a manner obnoxious to the United States authority will be removed and their leases cancelled.

PHOTOGRAPHERS.

XIV

To avoid confusion and unseemly controversies between photographers on the battlefield, it is ordered that each of the photographers be prohibited from photographing at any locality which under the rule is assigned for the week to another photographer, under the penalty of being excluded from photographing on the field. Approved by the Secretary of War November 25, 1901.

MONUMENTS, MARKERS AND TABLETS.

XV

Inscriptions designed to be placed upon monuments and tablets erected on the Battlefield of Gettysburg must in all cases be presented to this Commission, to be submitted to the Honorable Secretary of War for approval before being inscribed thereon.

Approved by the Secretary of War July 15, 1895.

XVI Whenever it is proposed to erect any monument, marker or other memorial on this field, application therefor shall first be made to this Commission, stating the intended location, design and specifications of the same, including all inscriptions thereon, and it must have the approval of this Commission and of the Honorable Secretary of War; and furthermore, when such proposal relates to troops of any state having a state commission, the application should be made through said commission and must show their approval of the proposed location, design, specifications and inscriptions.

XVII The attempt to commemorate by separate and individual monuments, markers or tablets the names and deeds of all the men who fought here and all the various positions of troops when not engaged, would so encumber the Gettysburg National Park as to mar its significance. Therefore, monuments, markers and tablets for the various commands and bodies of troops shall be placed only where needed to indicate their respective positions in battle array; and other positions are to be stated in the inscriptions thereon, and those erected in honor of individuals shall be limited to officers and soldiers who, for a conspicuous and exceptional act of heroism, may be deemed by the Secretary of War entitled to special commemoration.

XVIII Whereas since the creation of the Gettysburg National Park Commission the location of monuments, markers, and tablets in the Gettysburg National Park has been uniformly restricted to the respective positions occupied by the commands and bodies of troops in line of battle, and the respective lines of battle have thus been clearly defined, and the space between them has been and still is unmarked by monument, marker or tablet, the well-established and consistently followed plan of the commission above indicated is hereby approved and it is directed that hereafter no deviation from this plan be made.

Other positions occupied by the various commands and bodies of troops may be stated in the inscriptions on the monuments, markers, and tablets located on the lines of battle.

Hereafter monuments, markers, or tablets erected in honor of individuals shall be limited to officers and soldiers who for a conspicuous and exceptional act of heroism may be deemed by the Secretary of War entitled to a special commemoration.

War Department, January 17, 1910.

THE WHITE HOUSE,
January 18, 1910

Approved :

J. M. DICKINSON,
Secretary of War.

Approved :

WM. H. TAFT.

XIX

No monument or marker shall be moved, changed, cleaned or repaired except by the National Park Commission or under their special direction in writing.

XX

The rate of speed over the avenues for automobiles shall not exceed ten miles per hour.

Battlefield guides accompanying automobiles are charged with the speed and conduct of such automobiles, and each guide will be held strictly responsible for the conduct and speed of the automobile he accompanies, and for any violation of the rules of the Park relating thereto.

JOHN P. NICHOLSON,
Chairman,

CHAS. A. RICHARDSON,
L. L. LOMAX,
Commissioners.

War Department,
September 21, 1911.

Approved :

ROBERT SHAW OLIVER,
Acting Secretary of War.

APPENDIX O:
REGULATIONS FOR BATTLEFIELD GUIDES AT GETTYSBURG: 1915

1. Organisation:

a. Purpose: To assist visitors in visualizing the positions and movements of troops by describing the action and pointing out landmarks etc., thus enabling them to appreciate quickly and fully the magnitude of the struggles which took place on the battlefield.

b. Direction: The Guide Service will operate under the direction of the superintendent.

2. Appointments:-

a. Limited: No person shall be permitted to offer his services or to act as a guide unless licensed for that purpose by the superintendent. Persons desiring to become a guide shall make application to the superintendent in writing for authority to take the examination for guide.

b. Qualification: Guides shall be of good character, in good physical condition, honest, intelligent, tactful, and of good repute. They must be thoroughly familiar with the history of the events which the park or monument commemorates and with location of all memorials. It is their duty to escort visitors to various parts of the park or monument and point out different historical features. The story of the guides shall be limited to the historical outlines approved by the superintendent and shall be free from praise or censure.

c. Examinations: Shall be held at parks or monuments where guide service is authorized, at times to be designated by corp area commanders, for the purpose of securing a list of eligibles for guide service. The examination will consist of an investigation of the character, reputation, intelligence and ability of the applicants and of questions designed to test their knowledge of the history of the battle Examination questions will be prepared under the direction of corp area commanders who shall likewise super-

vice the marking of examination papers and rating of applicants.

d. Eligibles: The names of applicants who successfully pass the examination will be placed on a list of eligibles in accordance with their relative standing.

e. Selection: Original appointments and vacancies in the guide service will be filled by selection from the list of eligibles in order of relative standing.

3. License:

a. License form: A definite form of a worded license will be issued to each person appointed to a position as guide. (Note:- see copy of form in appendix.)

b. Agreement: Before being issued a license to act as a guide, each applicant will be required to subscribe to the following agreement: (Note:- see copy of formal agreement in appendix.)

4. Suspension:

Superintendents are authorized to suspend any guide for violation of the regulations or for conduct prejudicial to the interests of the Government. A full report will be made the Corp Area commander who will take final action in the case. The corp area commander only can renew the license of a suspended guide.

5. Schedule of rates:

Schedule of rates for guide observance will be approved by corp area commander. The superintendent submits to the corp area commander proposed rates with explanations.

6. Badges and Uniforms:

Official badges giving evidence of authority shall be furnished guides. Where conditions warrant it and the procurement will not prove a hardship on the guides, they may be required to adopt a standard uniform, to be procured at their own expense.

(Place)

(Date)

_____, having successfully passed the examination prescribed for appointment as guide, is hereby licensed to offer his service as a guide to visitors. This license is issued subject to the condition that the licensee shall comply with all the rules and regulations prescribed for the guide service by the Secretary of the Interior and with the prescribed schedule of rates, copies of all of which have been furnished to him.

This license will be automatically renewed at the expiration of one year from the date of issue, provided the rules above mentioned have been fully complied with and services rendered satisfactorily.

Failure to act as guide for any period exceeding thirty days automatically suspends this license which will only be renewed upon proper application.

Supt., Gettysburg National
Military Park

(Place)

(Date)

To: Superintendent,
Gettysburg National Military Park, Pa.

For and in consideration of the issuance to me of a license to act as guide, I hereby accept and agree to observe fully the following conditions:

1. To abide by and observe the laws and all rules and regulations promulgated for the government of the park and for the regulation of guide service.
2. In case of difference of opinion as to the interpretation of any law, rule, or regulation, to accept the decision of the superintendent.
3. To accord proper respect to the park guards in their enforcement of the rules and regulations.
4. To require drivers of all vehicles, while under my conduct, to observe the park rules and regulations.
5. To be especially watchful to prevent damage to, or destruction of, park property or acts of vandalism toward monuments, buildings, fences, or natural features of the Park; to report any such damage, destruction, or vandalism which I may observe to the nearest available guard without delay, and to furnish him with all information in my possession tending to identify the offenders and assist in their apprehension and punishment.
6. To demand of visitors no more than the authorized fees for guide service and, when employed, to render service to the best of my ability.
7. To advise visitors who employ me, in advance, the length of time needed for a trip and its cost and, if visitors desire a shortened tour, to arrange for such service as may suit their convenience.
8. Not to operate any passenger vehicle, or vehicle of any kind for hire, while pursuing the vocation of guide or wearing a guide's badge or uniform.
9. In the event my license should be suspended or revoked by the superintendent, to refrain from offering my services or pursuing the vocation of guide, pending appeal to and decision of the corps area commander.

10. To return the license and official badge without delay to the superintendent should my license be revoked or suspended for more than 5 days or upon abandoning the occupation of guide for more than 30 consecutive days.

11. While wearing the badge of a guide or any uniform or part of a uniform indicating me to be a guide, I will not act as agent, solicitor, representative, or runner for any business or enterprise whatever (except in offering my services as a guide to visitors), nor solicit nor accept from any person, firm, association, or corporation any fee, commission, or gratuity for recommending their goods, wares, or services.

**APPENDIX P:
REGULATIONS FOR GUIDE SERVICE AT GETTYSBURG: 1927-1930**

**SCHEDULE OF RATES AND REGULATIONS FOR GUIDE SERVICE IN THE
GETTYSBURG NATIONAL MILITARY PARK.**

1. Period of time for making a tour of the field is to be at the option of the tourist and not of the guide. The usual tour of the field covers from 17 to 22 miles, and at the rate of speed allowed (15 miles per hr.) will take two hours. Tourists who are interested in a detailed description and a close inspection of points of interest will require a longer period.
2. Authorized guide charges: (a) For one car: \$2.00 for first hour and \$1.00 for each additional hour or fraction thereof, and for each additional car 50¢ per hour or fraction thereof.
(b) For one bus: \$3.00 for first hour and \$1.50 for each additional hour or fraction thereof, and for each additional bus \$1.00 per hour or fraction thereof.
3. Guides will be allowed 3 trips per day in accordance with above schedule, and 4 trips on Sundays and holidays.
4. Guides will not be allowed to operate (in person or by agent) any passenger vehicle, or vehicles of any kind for hire, while pursuing the vocation of guide or wearing a guide's badge or uniform.
5. Soliciting by guides, while wearing a guide's badge or uniform, for any other purpose than offering guide service to tourists is strictly forbidden.
6. This schedule is published in compliance with and under the authority of the provisions of par. 30, Regulations for the National Military Parks, approved by the Assistant Secretary of War July 30, 1915 and par. 49 of said regulations, promulgating Sec. 7 of the Act of Feb. 11, 1895 (28 Stat., 651); and the act of Feb. 6, 1905 (33 Stat., 700).

Dated 12/1/27

(Signed) Hanford MacNider,
Asst. Secretary of War.

GUIDE UNIFORMS

1. **Material.**—To be 16 oz. olive drab serge.

2. **Coat.**—*a.* To be single breasted sack, four button, short lapel, plain notch, semi form fitting, straight front, no vent, no gores or seams on front. The coat will be lined or not as desired, but if lined, the lining to be of the same color as the coat.

b. Sleeves.—To be plain cut, with a band of black braid $\frac{1}{4}$ inch in width, the lower edge 3 inches from the ends of the sleeves.

c. Pockets.—There will be four outside welt pockets; two upper with $\frac{3}{4}$ inch welt and two lower with 1 $\frac{1}{8}$ inch welt. The pockets will be of a size suitable to the coat.

d. Buttons.—To be of bone, ivory or composition to match the cloth.

3. **Trousers.**—To match the coat, straight legged and straight bottoms, with the usual pockets. Breeches are not to be worn.

4. **Cap.**—*a.* To match the coat, and conform to sample in this office, without lettering. To have two ventilating eyelets on each side about $\frac{1}{2}$ inch from the welt seam and $\frac{3}{4}$ inch on each side of the side seam of quarters, and a sweat band of suitable material.

b. Crown.—To be slightly oval, about 8 $\frac{1}{4}$ by 9 inches; greatest dimension from front to rear, stitched in with a welt; top to be stiffened with wire, and to be provided with a suitable material inside to protect it against perspiration.

c. Chin Strap.—To be $\frac{1}{2}$ inch in width, of black patent leather, fastened at each end of the visor with black buttons about $\frac{1}{2}$ inch in diameter, to match.

d. Visor.—To be rounded, of black patent leather, water proof, lined with suitable green material, preferably hatter's leather, bound with black patent leather stitched on; greatest width to be about 2 $\frac{3}{16}$ inches, with slope from vertical not to exceed 55 degrees.

5. **Insignia:** *a. For Cap.*—A nickeled identification number within a nickeled wreath, as furnished by this office; to be worn on front of cap, opening of the wreath uppermost and upper points of the wreath slightly below the welt seam attaching the crown to the band. No other ornaments or letters.

b. Arm Patch.—To be circular, of suitable gray cloth, 3 inches in diameter, with a dark blue piping. Across

the diameter of the circle, beginning and ending about $\frac{3}{8}$ of an inch from its outer circumference the word **GUIDE** will be embroidered with black silk thread, in plain, block letters about $\frac{1}{2}$ inch in height and of suitable width. Two segments of dark blue cloth whose curved sides fall about $\frac{3}{8}$ of an inch inside the diameter of the circle and whose flat sides about $\frac{1}{4}$ inch above tops and below the bottoms of the letters of the embroidered word **GUIDE**, will be imposed, one above and one below that word. Except for the circumference of the circular patch these measurements are approximate and subject to any slight variations necessary to produce a neat insignia. The patch will be worn, neatly and securely attached to the left sleeve of the coat, the lower edge about midway between the shoulder and elbow, a little toward the front so as to be plainly visible to a person facing the wearer.

c. *Badge*.—When the arm patch described above is worn, wearing the metal badge supplied by this office shall be discontinued and the badges returned to this office. When the metal badge is worn, it will invariably be on the left breast of the coat above the outside pocket and in plain sight.

6. **Service Insignia**.—a. *Stripes*.—To be 3 inches in length and $\frac{3}{8}$ inch in width, of dark blue and gray, of suitable cloth.

b. *Star*.—To be of suitable red cloth, five pointed with a circumference of $1\frac{1}{4}$ inches, worn with one point upward.

c. A gray stripe is worn to represent one year's licensed service and an additional one for each full additional year of licensed service, until completion of the fifth year, when the gray stripes will be replaced by one blue stripe, indicating five years service. Thereafter one gray stripe will be added until completion of the tenth year when one star, indicating ten years licensed service, will be substituted. Thereafter stripes for additional service will be added as described above until another star is earned, etc.

d. The stripes will be worn straight across the outer side of the left sleeve, the first to be about $\frac{3}{8}$ inch above the black braid and each additional stripe the same distance above the one below. The first blue stripe will be next the braid and additional gray ones above. Stars will be the same distance above the stripes or braid ($\frac{3}{8}$ inch) and where more than one star is worn the approaching points shall be $\frac{3}{8}$ inch apart.

e. Guides entitled to service stripes or stars are required to submit their claims for service to this office for approval and will not add those markings until so authorized.

7. **Shirt**.—Preferably white or tan. In any case "loud" colors, stripes or figures should be avoided.

8. **Collar**.—White, turn-down style, stiff, soft or semi-soft.

9. **Cravat**.—Preferably four-in-hand pattern. In any case, of black or dark blue without conspicuous or obtrusive stripes or figures.

10. **Shoes**.—Tan, cordovan or russet leather.

11. **Hose**.—Tan or brown.

12. **Gloves**.—Gray or tan, preferably of suede leather, if any are worn.

13. New uniforms are required to comply with and be worn according to the foregoing specifications. Serviceable uniforms now on hand should be, as far as possible, modified and worn to conform to these specifications. Guides who have no uniform will provide themselves therewith, with the least practicable delay, and not later than July 1, 1928. From and after January 1, 1929, all licensed guides will be required to equip themselves with the uniform here specified and to wear it at all times while engaged in soliciting for clients, or performing guide service.

Circular)
No. 4)

WAR DEPARTMENT,
National Military Park,
Gettysburg, Pa. July 10, 1930

1. For summer wear, without blouse, a gray, flannel shirt, with collar attached, two pockets with flap, seven buttons, to conform with the sample deposited in this office. Either a black or dark blue four-in-hand or bow tie should be worn with the shirt. The regulation trousers, with belt, and the regulation cap will be worn.

2. (a) Paragraph 3 b. "Arm Patch", Circular No. 2, N. M. P. Jan. 28, 1928, is amended to read (on 2d page) "the word Guide will be embroidered in red" etc.

(b) This change will be made after the present supply of patches is exhausted, but guides so desiring may make it at once.

E. E. Davis,
Superintendent

Circular)
No. 3)

WAR DEPARTMENT,
National Military Park, .
Gettysburg, Pa. Mar. 1, 1928.

1. The following itinerary, while considered to be the best, is not compulsory. Should tourists wish to see only parts of the field, guides may arrange their routes accordingly. It is believed that this itinerary would be of great advantage to those who wish to get a complete outline of the movements of the armies and the different engagements from day to day. It would lessen to a large extent the danger of passing cars at curves and other points of danger, by keeping traffic more in a one-way direction.

2. Guides are expected to stop at points of interest such as Reynolds' Grove, Oak Hill Tower, Barlow's Knoll, Spangler's Spring, Culp's Hill Tower, East Cemetery Hill, Meade's Headquarters, The Angle, Pennsylvania Memorial, Little Round Top, Devil's Den, The Wheatfield, Peach Orchard, Lee Memorial, and other points as requested by tourists.

3. This itinerary covers from 17 to 22 miles, and at the rate of 15 miles per hour will take from two to three hours, according to the number of stops made.

4. For First Day's Field.

Start West from Center Square on Chambersburg Street, continue west to Seminary Avenue.

Turn right to Chambersburg Pike (Lincoln Highway).

Turn left to Reynolds' Avenue.

Turn left on Reynolds' Avenue to Reynolds' Grove to right on Meredith and Stone Avenues to Chambersburg Pike, at Reynolds' and Buford's Monuments, Turn right and return to Reynolds' Avenue.

Turn left, cross bridge at railroad cut to intersection of Buford and Wadsworth Avenues.

Turn left on Buford Avenue, cross Mummasburg Road to North Confederate Avenue to tower on Doubleday Avenue on Oak Ridge.

Turn left at Robinson statue on Robinson Avenue to Mummasburg Road, Turn right to intersection of Howard Avenue.

Turn left, continue on Howard Avenue, cross Carlisle Road to Barlow statue, to Harrisburg Road.

Turn right on Harrisburg Road to Carlisle Street.

Turn left and return to Center Square.

For those who wish to see College buildings cross Carlisle Street to Washington Street.

Turn left to Chambersburg Street and return to Center Square.

5. For Second and Third Day's Fields.

From Center Square go east on York Street two blocks to Liberty Street. Turn right to East Confederate Avenue to Spangler's Spring on south side of Culp's Hill.

Turn right on Slocum Avenue to tower on Culp's Hill, pass intersection of Wainwright Avenue to Baltimore Pike.

Turn right on Baltimore Pike to entrance of the National Cemetery, through cemetery to upper gate to Taneytown Road.

Turn left, continue on Taneytown Road to Meade's Headquarters at flag pole.

Turn right on Meade Avenue to Hancock Avenue.

Turn left on Hancock Avenue to High Water Mark at Angle, continue on Hancock and Sedgwick Avenues to north end of Little Round Top, continue on Sykes Avenue to south end of Little Round Top.

Turn right on Warren Avenue to Crawford Avenue.

Turn left to Devil's Den, continue on Sickles Avenue on south side of Wheatfield around the Loop to Wheatfield Road.

Turn left on Wheatfield Road, cross Emmitsburg Road at the Peach Orchard, continue to West Confederate Avenue.

Turn right on West Confederate Avenue to west end of Middle Street or to Springs Avenue at Seminary buildings.

Turn Right and return to town.

For those who wish to see Sickles' advance line on July 2nd.

Turn right at intersection of Hancock, Sedgwick and United States Avenues to Sickles Avenue.

Turn left to Wheatfield Road.

Turn left on Wheatfield Road to Sickles Avenue, continue to Devil's Den to Crawford Avenue, continue on Crawford Avenue to Wheatfield Road.

Turn right to north end of Little Round Top to Sykes Avenue.

Turn right and continue as already outlined.

6. Route to East Cavalry Field.

From Center Square go east on York Street, continue east on Hanover Street and Hanover Road to intersection of Avenue about 3 miles east of the town.

Turn left, continue to Low Dutch Road.

Turn left to Gregg Avenue, continue on Gregg and Confederate Cavalry Avenues to end at north end of Runmole Woods.

Return by retracing same route to Gettysburg.

APPENDIX Q:
WAR DEPARTMENT REGULATIONS FOR NATIONAL MILITARY PARKS, ETC.,
ISSUED JUNE 1, 1933

- General Provisions -

1. Damage to property. - The removal, destruction, mutilation, injury, or defacement of any monument, statue, marker, guidepost, building, fence, railing, inclosure or other structure, or any tree, shrub, plant or flower or other thing for ornamentation or protection, or any ruins or relics or part thereof, or any other public property or any kind, is prohibited.

2. Hunting or molesting of wild animals. - The parks and monuments are sanctuaries for wild life of every sort, and hunting, wounding, capturing, or frightening any bird or animal, except poisonous snakes and dangerous animals is when it is necessary to prevent them from destroying life or inflicting injury, is prohibited within the limits of any park or monument. Hunting with dog, gun, or trap or interfering with birds or their nests within the limits of any park or monument is prohibited.

3. Intoxicating liquor. - The purchase, sale, use, possession or transportation of intoxicating liquor is prohibited.

4. Firearms or explosives. - The discharge of firearms, fireworks, or other explosives in any park or monument without the consent of the superintendent, is prohibited.

5. Soliciting alms, etc. - The soliciting of alms, contributions, or subscriptions is prohibited.

6. Advertisements. - Posting of advertisements or private notices within the park or monument, or along the public roads leading thereto over which jurisdiction has been ceded to the United States, is prohibited.

7. Grazing. - The running at large, herding, or grazing of livestock of any kind, except with the permission of the Secretary of War and under such conditions as may be prescribed, is prohibited. Livestock found improperly within any park or monument may be in-

pounded and held untill claimed by the owner and the trespass adjusted.

8. Dogs. - Dogs are prohibited within the limits of any park or monument except they be kept on leash, crated or otherwise under the restrictive control of the person or persons bringing them into such park or monument, but they may not be taken inside of any building.

9. Residence or business. - Residing upon or the sale of photographs, souvenirs, or refreshments or the engaging in any kind of business whatsoever in park or monument, except by authority of the Secretary of War, is prohibited.

10. Pictures. - The filming of motion or sound pictures requiring the use of artificial or special settings, or special equipment, or involving the performance of a professional cast, is prohibited unless permission first has been obtained from the officer having administrative supervision over such park or monument.

11. Camping. - Camping, unless authorized in advance by the superintendent and under such conditions as he may prescribe, is prohibited.

12. Use for assembly. - Except when authorized in advance by the superintendent, the holding of any festival, picnic or other similar assembly, is prohibited.

13. Guide Service. - No person shall offer his service of accept employment as a guide within the limits of any park or monument, except he first be licensed for that purpose by the superintendent thereof.

14. Gambling. - Gambling in any form, or the operation of any gambling device or devices, is prohibited.

15. Disorderly conduct. - All disorderly conduct of every nature whatsoever, or any conduct amounting to or conducive to a breach of the peace, is prohibited.

16. Other prohibited acts. - Although not specifically mentioned in these regulations, the doing of any act which will directly or indirectly interfere with the reasonable enjoyment of the park or monument by other visitors thereto or persons lawfully resident thereon, or with the carrying out of the purposes for which such park or monument was established, is prohibited.

17. Rules of the Road. - a. The maximum speed limit shall be 20 miles per hour except where otherwise indicated by official signs posted for that purpose; Provided, however, that all vehicles shall be so operated as to be at all times under the safe control of the driver, and in no case shall such vehicle be operated at a speed which is reckless or excessive, having due regard for the width of the highway, the use thereof, or the traffic thereon, or so as to endanger any individual or public or private property, or unreasonably to damage the public highway.

b. No person who is under the influence of intoxicating liquor or addicted to or under the influence of narcotic drugs shall operate a motor-driven vehicle or any kind on any road within the limit of any park or monument.

c. A vehicle meeting another shall pass to the right.

d. A vehicle overtaking another shall pass to the left of the vehicle overtaken. No driver shall attempt to pass another vehicle going in the same direction on any highway except where there is an unobstructed clear course ahead, and no driver shall attempt to pass another vehicle going in the same direction at any road intersection or on a curve.

e. The driver of any vehicle intending to draw out from the curb or from any parking space shall indicate such intention by unmistakable signal and shall not draw out in such manner as to interfere with moving traffic approaching from either direction.

f. Before turning to the right or left to leave a highway, and before turning around or stopping thereon, or before pulling out of line, the driver of a motor vehicle shall give a timely warning signal by extending the arm beyond and straight outside the vehicle, holding the same in such position for a sufficient time to apprise approaching drivers of vehicles of his intention to change his course or stop, as the case may be; Provided, however, That in lieu of such signal above required signals may be given by any mechanical or electrical device which conveys an intelligible signal or warning to another driver approaching from the rear. In all such cases the driver of a motor vehicle to whom such a signal has been given shall bring and keep his vehicle under control, and shall in all cases heed any such warning as shall have been given him. The driver of a vehicle making a right or left turn shall yield to through traffic actually within the intersection or sufficiently close to constitute an immediate hazard.

g. To make a right-hand turn, a vehicle shall keep as near to the right of the road as possible.

h. To make a left-hand turn, a vehicle shall pass around or over the central point of intersection of the two roads, having due regard to the right of way given other traffic.

i. In making a left or right turn, the crossing through a line of traffic moving in the same direction is prohibited.

j. A vehicle shall keep over as near as practicable to the right-hand side of the road, so as to leave sufficient space between the same and the center of the road for overtaking traffic.

k. Slowly moving vehicles shall not be driven upon the highways abreast, but one must follow the other and keep as near to the right-hand side of the road as possible.

l. Upon being overtaken by another vehicle, legally approaching at a greater rate of speed, whose driver has indicated by a clearly audible signal his intention to pass, the driver of the overtaken vehicle shall give way to the right of the center of the highway, allowing such other vehicle free passage to the left and shall not increase the speed of his vehicle.

m. Except in slow-moving traffic, a vehicle shall not follow another vehicle closer than 50 feet.

n. No motor vehicle shall be operated on any highway with clutch disengaged or gear out of mesh except for the purpose of changing or shifting gears or stopping or while being towed, or when such vehicle is equipped with commercial free-wheeling devices.

o. The horn shall be sounded on approaching sharp curves or before passing other motor vehicles, riding or driving animals, or pedestrians.

18. Right of way. a. Pedestrians shall have the right of way at all crosswalks except those controlled by park or monument guards or by traffic devices, and no person shall cross a roadway through moving traffic at such crosswalk.

b. Vehicles shall have the right of way between crosswalks and between street intersections.

c. The driver of a vehicle approaching an intersection shall yield the right of way to a vehicle which has entered the intersection, uncontrolled by electric traffic device or park or monument guard. When two vehicles enter an intersection at the same time, the driver of the vehicle on the left shall yield to the driver on the right, provided that a vehicle making a right or left-hand turn shall give the right of way to through traffic.

d. When a vehicle has once entered an intersection uncontrolled by electric traffic device or park or monument guard, it has the right of way over all vehicles except those which have entered an intersection before it, whether they are on the right or not.

e. Where guards are stationed, they have full power to regulate traffic.

f. At any road, street or other point at which a STOP sign has been erected, all vehicles shall come to a complete stop and shall not proceed to cross or enter such road or street until a crossing or entry can be safely made without interfering with other traffic.

g. No vehicle shall park within 25 feet of any STOP or SLOW sign.

19. Special requirements. - a. No motor vehicle shall be operated with merchandise so placed on the fenders or hood as to obstruct the view of the operator. An operator shall pay strict attention to traffic on the highways and shall at all times be in position for emergency control of his vehicle.

b. Drivers shall have an unobstructed view to the rear of their vehicles by direct view or mirror. Windshields in front of driver shall be kept clear of snow or ice, or opened so that the driver's view is unobstructed. Stickers shall not be pasted on the windshields so as to obstruct the driver's view.

c. The driver or operator of any motor vehicle shall not permit any person or persons to stand or ride on the running boards thereof while the same is in motion, and no person shall stand or ride on the running boards thereof when the same is in motion.

d. No motor vehicle shall be operated on any highway at any time when, in the opinion of the superintendent or his designated assistants, such motor vehicle is not in a safe mechanical condition.

e. Every motor vehicle shall be equipped with two or more sets of independently operated brakes, which shall at all times be in proper adjustment and first-class working order.

f. During the period from one-half hour after sunset to one-half hour before sunrise, all motor vehicles (other than motorcycles) in motion upon any highway shall be equipped with and have lighted at least two head-lamps of sufficient brilliancy to insure safety in night driving and at the rear a lamp arranged to show a red light visible from the rear at a distance of 500 feet and to illuminate by white light the rear license plate in such manner as to make

the numerals thereon legible at least 50 feet from the rear of the vehicle. Motorcycles shall be equipped with and have lighted at least one head lamp and in addition a rear lamp of the type specified above for motor vehicles. When equipped with a side car, a white light visible 500 feet to the front shall also be displayed mounted on the right side of the side car. All other vehicles shall display at least one white light so placed and affixed on the left side of the vehicle as to be plainly visible from the front and rear thereof for a distance of 200 feet. When a trailer is used in conjunction with a motor vehicle, the trailer only shall be required to display a red light. Wherever a vehicle is parked or stopped on any road within the limit of any park or monument, during the time between one-half hour after sunset and one-half hour before sunrise or at any other time when there is not sufficient light to render clearly discernible any vehicle on the roadway from a distance of 200 feet, there shall be displayed upon such vehicle one or more lighted lamps on the roadway side as will project a white light visible under normal conditions for a distance of 500 feet and a red light visible to the rear under like conditions for a distance of 500 feet.

g. No operator of a motor vehicle shall use or permit the use of any device or substance used for retarding pursuit or in any manner hinder or harass officers of the law in the performance of their duty.

h. A vehicle shall not stop with its left side to the curb except on "one-way traffic roads", where vehicles so stopped will not interfere with the movement of traffic.

i. A vehicle shall not be parked or otherwise stopped so as to prevent free passage of other vehicles in both directions at the same time, or in such manner as to obstruct the ingress to or the egress from any roadway.

j. All vehicles shall park parallel on all highways except where official signs shall indicate otherwise.

k. No person shall stand on or near a roadway for the purpose of soliciting transportation on private vehicles.

1. The owner or operator of any motor or other vehicle which for any reason is unable to move by means of its normal motive power shall cause such vehicle to be parked at the side of the road in accordance with sections 18 h, i and j of these regulations, and shall cause said vehicle to be removed within 24 hours.

20. Accidents. Any person, who through the operation of any motor or other vehicle, injures any person or injures or destroys any public or private property shall make immediate report thereof to the superintendent of the park or monument, and shall give his name and address and such other information as may be required by said superintendent.

APPENDIX R:
NATIONAL PARK SERVICE RESTORATION POLICIES, MAY 19, 1937

General Restoration Policy:

The motives governing these activities are several, often conflicting: aesthetic, archeological and scientific, and educational. Each has its values and its disadvantages.

Educational motives often suggest complete reconstitution, as in their hey-day, of vanished, ruinous or remodelled buildings and remains. This has often been regarded as requiring removal of subsequent additions, and has involved incidental destruction of much archeological and historical evidence, as well as of aesthetic values arising from age and picturesqueness.

The demands of scholarship for the preservation of every vestige of architectural and archeological evidence – desirable in itself – might, if rigidly satisfied, leave the monument in conditions which give the public little idea of its major historical aspect or importance.

In aesthetic regards, the claims of unity or original form or intention, of variety of style in successive period of building and remodeling, and of present beauty of texture and weathering may not always be wholly compatible.

In attempting to reconcile these claims and motives, the ultimate guide must be the tact and judgment of the men in charge. Certain observations may, however, be of assistance to them:

- (1) No final decision should be taken as to a course of action before reasonable efforts to exhaust the archeological and documentary evidence as to the form and successive transformations of the monument.
- (2) Complete record of such evidence, by drawings, notes and transcripts should be kept, and in no case should evidence offered by the monument itself be destroyed or covered up before it has been fully recorded.
- (3) It is well to bear in mind the saying: "Better preserve than repair, better repair than restore, better restore than construct."
- (4) It is ordinarily better to retain genuine old work of several periods, rather than arbitrarily to "restore" the whole, by new work, to its aspect at a single period.
- (5) This applies even to work of periods later than those now admired, provided their work represents a genuine creative effort.
- (6) In no case should our own artistic preferences or prejudices lead us to modify, on aesthetic grounds, work of a bygone period representing other artistic tastes. Truth is not only stranger than fiction, but more varied and more interesting, as well as more honest.
- (7) Where missing features are to be replaced without sufficient evidence as to their own original form, due regard should be paid to the factors of period and region in other surviving examples of the same time and locality.
- (8) Every reasonable additional care and expense are justified to approximate in new work the materials, methods and quality of old construction, but new work should not be artificially "antiqued" by theatrical means.

(9) Work on the preservation and restoration of old buildings requires a slower pace than would be expected in new construction.

Battlefield Area Restoration Policy:

Consideration of a proper restoration policy for historical areas raises many important problems. Not the least of these is the proper application of such a policy to national battlefield areas. Those areas offer conditions not usually present in other historical sites and the problem is more immediate in view of the present rapid development program.

In a sense a wise policy might better be described as one of stabilization rather than restoration. Stabilization embraces necessary restoration without subordinating to it the entire physical development program.

It is convenient to discuss the problem in two parts, the elements usually presented in a battlefield area when the National Park Service takes it over, but before any development program has been initiated; and, the successive steps in a sound stabilization program.

- I. When the National Park Service takes over a military area, it usually consists of the following elements;
 - A. What was there when the battle was fought, including evidences of the battle, such as earthenworks, cleared fields, ruined foundations, etc.
 - B. Subsequent additions, including forest growth, modern buildings, monuments, and markers. Some of these subsequent additions, such as the intrusions of unsightly and modern structures, have been injurious to the appearance of the area. Other additions, however, have improved it. For example, forest growth of 75 years frequently is a desirable witness to the age and the dignity of a battlefield area and fortifies the impression upon those visiting the area.
- II. To stabilize conditions on a battlefield area after it is taken over, the following policies are hereby approved:
 - A. Undesirable modern encroachments on the battlefield scene shall be eliminated as soon as practicable. Not everything that has occurred since the battle can be considered an encroachment. Obviously, modern structures and intrusions which have been due to other than natural conditions and which introduce a jarring note rather than contribute to the normal accretions of age are the elements which should be eliminated. These include modern buildings, high-speed highways, gas stations, transmission lines, and other obviously incongruous elements. Normal forest growth, the natural changes of stream channel, the operation of other natural processes which seem destined never to be controlled, should not be eliminated.
 - B. Having eliminated undesirable encroachments, those features of the area which hamper a clear understanding of the engagement also should be eliminated. For example, where forest growth has obstructed an important vista or where a road location conveys a mistaken notion of troop movements, that feature should be modified or eliminated for educational reasons.
 - C. Restoration, which seems advisable to aid understanding and to restore the natural landscape for clearing and naturally representing the battlefield area, should be made

as funds therefore are obtained. Such restorations may be made for structures, earthworks, plant growth, etc. It is recognized that, in each case of restoration, there is present a danger of introducing an artificial element into what had been previously a natural scene. Natural processes should be allowed to operate and dignify with age the natural scene.

The foregoing policies should aid in developing a battlefield area to provide a combination of elements remaining from the time of the battle, plus the normal additions of age affected through the natural accretion of natural processes. When a battlefield area has been so treated as to represent this combination, it can be said to be "stabilized."

Sample Restoration Policy:

The Advisory Board approves the guiding policy of the treatment of the Morristown camp site, in accordance with which the restoration of only a very small number of representative structures is attempted, and expresses its opposition to any attempt at complete or large-scale restoration of such sites, especially where the building of structures is involved.

"Restoration and Procedure Adopted by the Advisory Board on National Parks, Historic Sites, Buildings, and Monuments, Fourth meeting, March 25-26, 1937," 4th Advisory Board Meeting, March 25-26, 1937, at Washington, D.C., quoted in Unrau and Williss, *Administrative History*, pp. 275-79.

APPENDIX S:
HISTORY OF CCC CAMP NO. 2 AT GETTYSBURG, JUNE 22, 1936

HEADQUARTERS
1355th Co., CCC, Camp, MP-2
Gettysburg, Pa.

June 22, 1936

Subject: Camp History of Company 1355 MP-2 Gettysburg, Pa.

Camp 1355 MP-2 is located 200 yards west of Seminary Ridge along which West Confederate Avenue extends. The camp is screened from view by the McMillan Woods which was occupied on the 2nd and 3rd day by Confederate troops. Confederate rifle pits are still visible in McMillan Woods. The woods served as cover for the formation of troops being prepared for attack.

When General Buford retired from the position he occupied near the Chambersburg pits, on the morning of the 1st, he deployed a position of his forces near the site of Camp MP-2, in order to protect the left flank of the Federal lines of battle which was established by General Doubleday along what is known as Reynolds Avenue.

There are very few families in the vicinity of the camp site, but those that are near are all old families that were living near Gettysburg, during the Civil War.

The site that Company 1355 MP-2, is now occupying was first occupied by Co. 238, which was moved here from Spokane, Washington, with three officers and 87 enrollees. Captain McDonald, Commanding, Company 238 pitched tents and started setting up the camp. Barracks were later erected and moved into, in a period of two months.

Company 238 was moved in May 1934, and the present Company 1355 MP-2 arrived here May 24, 1934. . . . The camp now has a beautiful lawn with flowers planted. A new E.C.W. building, Blacksmith shop, one of the best Class rooms for Educational purposes in the Sub District, Officers Club and a good athletic field for the development of the enrollees.

The original officers of the camp were Captain McDonald, commanding officer, Lt. Moran, and Lt. Williams.

The original members of the technical staff were, Dr. John P. Wolf, Historian, William H. Allison, Joseph Hudert, Engineer, George Krannenberg, Landscape foreman, Howard Diehl, Camp Supt. The foremen were, C. W. Heilman, W. H. Dougherty, and A. J. Holtsworth. . . .

The first Educational Advisor that served at Company 1355 was Mr. Fred Kelly. Mr. Fred Kelly was transferred and Mr. Peters succeeded him and served for a short period. Mr. Roderick Benton, was appointed to Company 1355, and served a period of six months and was transferred to a camp in Maryland. Mr. Richard Bell was then assigned to the position as educational advisor, and is serving in that capacity at the present time.

When the educational programs were introduced in the various CCC Camps no one knew exactly what was needed. Since that time a program has been introduced in the camps that will interest most enrollees.

The educational record of the men in this camp has always been good. The men have shown a sincere desire to progress along intellectual lines and many are planning on entering College or

Vocational school at the expiration of their time in the CCC. The Corporation of the different departments in the educational programs has been excellent and it has been possible to correlate much of the field and classroom work. It is also worthy to mention that several men have learned to read and write.

Many worth while recreational activities are carried on. The men of the Company exceed in many athletic sports such as baseball, boxing and track.

Since the establishment of the camp the men have contributed 45,000 man-days of labor. This labor has been expended in the building of and the repairing of 40 miles of fence, the cutting of 2,500 trees, the removal of 500 unsightly stumps, the hauling of 400 logs which were distributed to the needy, the spraying of 8,000 trees, and the pruning of 500 more. More than 15,000 square yards of grading was done and 2 acres were seeded and sodded. Five hundred acres of undesirable underbrush were cleared, more than one mile of road was built and more than two miles repaired. In the National Cemetery, the head stones were originally placed in the ground without a substantial foundation. Over a period of 70 years the frost action had pushed them out of alignment. It was camp #1355 that reset the 979 individual headstones and the 6,900 feet of granite headstones on a substantial base concrete base. This project enhanced the appearance of the National Shrine and has preserved more intact the final resting place of those who gave their lives that that Nation might Live.

The work was not confined to the park area alone. Hundreds of man-days were spent in the removal of snow from the streets of Gettysburg, and neighboring localities, especially during the last winter. A detached camp was established in a neighboring [area] to erect a camp for undernourished children on the banks of the Susquehanna River. Whenever an emergency arose the camp was always ready to lend a helping hand.

APPENDIX T:
MANAGEMENT OBJECTIVES FOR GETTYSBURG NATIONAL MILITARY PARK
IN GENERAL MANAGEMENT PLAN, DECEMBER 1, 1982

Preservation and Protection of Cultural Resources

To continue to acquire data to locate, identify, preserve and interpret the Park's cultural resources in a manner consistent with legislative and executive requirements and the National Park Service's historic policies.

To continue and develop the Park's research and curatorial facilities to acquire information through historical research, archeological and architectural data and surveys and other means necessary to facilitate optimum preservation, interpretation, conservation, and management of the Park's extensive cultural resources.

To protect and preserve the Park's historic buildings, fences, roads, earthworks, trees, orchards, springs, woodlots, and other historic resources, utilizing preservation techniques that retard deterioration to the greatest possible degree.

To stabilize, preserve, or restore consistent with Service policies, the Park's historic structures and the cultural and natural landscape to represent as close as practicable their June 1863 appearance, while allowing for the screening of intrusions and for preserving the Park's commemorative monumentation.

To monitor the condition of earthworks, historic buildings, and other historic resources and to restrict public use, modify management practices, and otherwise eliminate conditions having adverse effects on them.

To monitor and acquire the necessary information to continue the monument conservation program for the Park's extensive outdoor bronze and stone works.

To eliminate, to the degree possible, physical and visual intrusions into historic settings of the Park caused by non-historic park avenues, vegetation, development, and utility lines.

To identify and preserve those structures having sufficient historic integrity and significance to justify their preservation in part or in full as historic structures.

To manage and complement according to National Park Service standards, the Park's artifact collection (including archeological), library and archives, and to make them available as appropriate for research and interpretation.

To maintain and acquire historical artifacts and collections, as indicated in the Scope of Collections Statement, for the documentation, preservation, and interpretation of Park themes and resources.

To identify appropriate historic materials for possible purchase and/or donation for Park use.

To continue the agricultural permit program so that preservation of the Park's historic land resources are enhanced.

Preservation and Protection of Natural Resources

To protect and perpetuate through viable management studies and programs the Park's natural resources and wildlife, with particular emphasis on protection of the integrity of the diabase rocks, conservation of the Round Top Woods, other historic woods, the wildlife of the Park such as the black and turkey vultures, deer, and small animals.

To protect and perpetuate through vegetation management's plans and programs the Park's grasses, wildflowers, groves, historic woodlots, and vegetation screening.

Visitor Use

To permit enjoyment and use of the Park by managing it for day use on a year-round basis with a 7-day-a-week visitor services program, adjusting hours of operation in accordance with available staffing and seasonal visitation.

To foster an environmental ethic through informational programs which encourage visitor and community awareness and acceptance of the need for wise use of the Park and help reduce the need for law enforcement measures.

To identify and prohibit non-conforming recreational uses which impact the historic character of the Park, physically destroy their resource, and create safety hazards to users and visitors.

To provide information, orientation, and shuttle bus services for visitor use to Eisenhower National Historic Site.

To protect both visitors and the resource base through successful law and safety regulation enforcement, including a continuous public information program.

To provide if possible and practicable accessibility to and utilization of the Park's physical facilities by handicapped citizens.

To provide for the maintenance of public use facilities at the highest possible standard to accommodate maximum visitor use.

Interpretation

To interpret the battle position, movements, action, deeds, casualties, and all related matters of the armies and men who fought and served in the Battle of Gettysburg on July 1, 2, and 3, 1863 and of the Gettysburg Campaign, June 3 to August 3, 1863.

To foster understanding and appreciation of the battle through interpretation of the events leading up to the battle and its aftermath and effect on the course of the Civil War.

To interpret the commemorative character of the Park and National Cemetery as expressed through their monumentation.

To present the battle in a chronological and sequential manner, while providing for adequate access to the National Cemetery and Eisenhower National Historic Site.

To encourage more use of the Park through additional interpretive trails, wayside exhibits, and conducted walks.

To encourage personal guided tours by supporting a high quality licensed Battlefield Guide service.

To provide tailored interpretive programs for special segments of the visiting public including handicapped and other disadvantaged citizens and school groups.

To provide interpretive programs to meet needs for environmental education, portrayal of historic events, and safe visitor recreational use.

Access and Circulation

To promote efficient access to all park units and to ensure safe, uncongested circulation for visitors.

To reduce congestion on the Park tour roads by encouraging bus tours.

To cooperate with State and local authorities to minimize traffic hazards on state and local roads which also serve as Battlefield Tour routes.

Development

To ensure that development of Park facilities is the minimum necessary for Park administration, maintenance, and the provision of essential services to Park visitors, and that non-historic facilities are compatible with preserving the historic setting of the Park's cultural resources.

To ensure that adequate facilities are available for preservation, and interpretation by Park museum and wayside exhibits, and preservation and use of the Park's artifact collection, archives and library.

Land Base

To identify, and to protect through legislation, acquisition in fee or of easements, or by other means, a land base sufficient for the preservation and management of the Park's historic resources. This land base will consider the "critical areas" recommendations of the Advisory Council on Historic Preservation and other land use control programs to assure integrity of the resource and protection of its historic setting from surrounding development.

Cooperation

To cooperate with other governmental agencies, private organizations, and members of the public to ensure that:

Land use and visitor activities within and without Park boundaries are compatible, to the greatest degree possible, with long-term preservation of their cultural resources and settings.

The local community is fully informed of available facilities and programs.

There is open and candid communication through meetings and contacts.

There is particular emphasis on cooperative activities with Adams County, Cumberland, Straban, Mount Joy, and Mount Pleasant Townships, and Borough of Gettysburg, the Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission and Department of Community Affairs, the Gettysburg Battlefield Preservation Association, Adams County Historical Society, the Defenders of Gettysburg National Military Park, The Lincoln Fellowship of Pennsylvania, Historic Gettysburg-Adams County, Inc. , the Community Relations Committee, the Gettysburg Travel Council and the Gettysburg Area Chamber of Commerce.

To instigate, assist, and encourage the participation of local governments, private organizations, members of the community and the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania in development and mutual concern for the protection and enhancement of land uses that affect the historic-scenic environment of the Park and National Cemetery.

Management

To provide the requisite management capability in administration, research, interpretation, maintenance, protection, and conservation through the Park office for three National Park units at Gettysburg.

To establish an advisory commission to advise and assist in the management of the three National Park units at Gettysburg.

General Management Plan, Gettysburg National Military Park and National Cemetery, Pennsylvania, December 1982, pp. 4-7.

**APPENDIX U:
MANAGEMENT OBJECTIVES FOR GETTYSBURG NATIONAL CEMETERY
IN GENERAL MANAGEMENT PLAN, DECEMBER 1, 1982**

Preservation and Protection of Cultural Resources

To continue to acquire data to locate, identify, preserve and interpret the National Cemetery's cultural resources in a manner consistent with legislative and executive requirements and the Service's historic policies.

To continue and develop the Park's research and curatorial facilities to acquire information through historical research, archeological and architectural data and surveys and other means necessary to facilitate optimum preservation, interpretation, conservation, and management of the Cemetery.

To protect and preserve the Cemetery's historic gravestones, structures, iron fences, stone walls, drives, and other historic resources, utilizing preservation techniques that retard deterioration to the greatest degree possible.

To monitor and acquire the necessary information to continue the monument conservation program for the National Cemetery's extensive outdoor bronze and stone works.

To identify and preserve those structures having sufficient historic integrity and significance to justify their preservation in part or in full as historic structures.

To maintain and acquire historical artifacts and collections, as indicated in the Scope of Collections Statement, for the documentation, preservation, and interpretation of Cemetery themes and resources.

To preserve and maintain a high standard for the burial grounds of Civil War dead, World War I and II dead and other persons, as well as the scene of Lincoln's historic Gettysburg address.

To restore and preserve the historic gravestones, structures and grounds in a manner befitting the purpose and character of the Soldiers' Cemetery, in general conformance with Saunder's Plan.

To reduce, and if possible eliminate, the adverse effects on the Cemetery's historic and commemorative values, as well as its quiet and serene atmosphere, due to commercial and residential developments, vehicular use, maintenance and operation facilities, and other disruptive uses and developments.

Visitor Use

To permit enjoyment and use of the National Cemetery by managing them for day use on a year-round basis with a 7-day-a-week visitor services program, adjusting hours of operation in accordance with available staffing and seasonal visitation.

To foster an environmental ethic through information programs which encourage visitor and community awareness and acceptance of the need for wise use of Cemetery resources, and help reduce the need for law enforcement measures.

To identify and prohibit non-conforming recreational uses which impact the historic character of the Cemetery, physically destroy their resource, and create safety hazards to users and visitors.

To provide if possible and practicable accessibility to and utilization of the Cemetery's physical facilities by handicapped citizens.

Interpretation

To interpret the Cemetery's historic significance as the burial ground of the Union War dead and the place of Lincoln's famous address.

To interpret the commemorative character of the National Cemetery as expressed through its monumentation.

To interpret and manage the National Cemetery Annex as a cemetery for Post-Civil War dead.

Access and Circulation

To enhance the National Cemetery's historic and solemn environment and to improve the quality of the visitor's experience by reducing or eliminating vehicle use.

Cooperation

To cooperate with other governmental agencies, private organizations, and members of the public, to ensure that:

Land use and visitor activities inside and outside Cemetery boundaries are compatible, to the greatest degree possible, with long-term preservation of its cultural resources and settings.

The local community is fully informed of available facilities and programs.

There is open and candid communication through meetings and contacts.

There is particular emphasis on cooperative activities with Adams County, Cumberland, Straban, Mount Joy, and Mount Pleasant Townships, the Borough of Gettysburg, the Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission and Department of Community Affairs, the Gettysburg Battlefield Preservation Association, Adams County Historical Society, the Defenders of Gettysburg National Military Park, The Lincoln Fellowship of Pennsylvania, Historic Gettysburg-Adams County, Inc., the Community Relations Committee, the Gettysburg Travel Council and the Gettysburg Area Chamber of Commerce.

To instigate, assist, and encourage the participation of local governments, private organizations, members of the community and the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania in development and mutual concern for the protection and enhancement of land uses that affect the historic-scenic environment of the National Cemetery.

Management

To provide the requisite management capability in administration, research, interpretation, maintenance, protection, and conservation through the Park office for the three National Park units at Gettysburg.

To establish an advisory commission to advise and assist in the management of the three National Park units at Gettysburg.

The Annex to the National Cemetery, which was made possible by a donation of 5 acres from the United States Steel Company, is authorized by an Act of June 19, 1948 (62 Stat. 502). It is likewise subject to the Act of February 22, 1869, and is reserved for the burial of qualified veterans and next-of-kin.

General Management Plan, Gettysburg National Military Park and National Cemetery, December 1982, pp. 76-78.

RECOMMENDATIONS

Virtually all known repositories having materials relating to the administrative history of Gettysburg National Military Park and Gettysburg National Cemetery were consulted or visited during the course of research for this report. It is recommended, however, that the park initiate an oral history program and tape-record interviews with past park superintendents and other personnel. Such a program would provide first-hand accounts on how the park has operated through the years, challenges that have faced the park, and solutions taken by management to meet those challenges.

REPOSITORIES VISITED DURING RESEARCH

Archives Branch, Federal Archives and Records Center, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania
Archives Branch, Washington National Records Center, Suitland, Maryland
Denver Public Library, Denver, Colorado
Historical Society of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania
Library of Congress, Washington, D.C.
National Archives and Records Administration, Washington, D.C.
National Park Service
 Denver Service Center, Lakewood, Colorado
 Gettysburg National Military Park, Gettysburg, Pennsylvania
 Mid-Atlantic Regional Office, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania
 Rocky Mountain Regional Office (Library), Lakewood, Colorado
 Washington Office, Washington, D.C.
University of Colorado, Boulder, Colorado
U.S. Department of the Interior, Natural Resources Library, Washington, D.C.

REPOSITORIES CONSULTED DURING RESEARCH

National Park Service, Harpers Ferry Center, Division of Reference Services, Harpers Ferry, West Virginia

The Huntington Library, San Marino, California

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Old History Division Files.

For the purposes of this study the holdings of the library and archives at Gettysburg National Military Park provided the largest and most comprehensive body of primary manuscript materials. The park administrative files provided useful data for the 1970s and early 1980s, and the park files in the Cyclorama drum storage area contained helpful information for the 1950s and 1960s.

Manuscript materials in Record Group 79 at the National Archives yielded valuable data on the park and cemetery from the late 1920s through the late 1940s, while the materials in Record Group 79 of the Federal Archives and Records Center in Philadelphia held data for the period of the 1940s and early 1950s.

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These documents provided useful data on the role played by Congress in establishing the park and cemetery and providing for their administration, operation, and maintenance.

INTERVIEWS

Personal interview with John R. Earnst by Harlan D. Unrau, June 27, 1985.

Personal interview with Richard V. Giamberdine by Harlan D. Unrau, August 9, 1990.

Personal interview with Thomas Harrison by Harlan D. Unrau, October 23, 1985.

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Telephone interview with Jacob Sheads by Harlan D. Unrau, October 23, 1985.

Telephone interviews with Jerry L. Schober by Harlan D. Unrau, December 4 and 11, 1985.

Telephone interview with Sandra Speers by Harlan D. Unrau, August 9, 1990.

Telephone interview with Kittridge A. Wing by Harlan D. Unrau, November 14, 1985.

These interviews provided the author with invaluable insights into the operation of the park and cemetery from the mid-1950s through the early 1980s. This data was especially valuable since there is relatively little documentary data on park administration and operations during the 1950s and 1960s.

MAPS

(Copies of these maps are on file in the GNMP Library.)

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Of the studies prepared by individuals, the most helpful for this report were those by Bearss, Georg, Harrison, Rogers, and Unrau and Williss. The various master, general management, land acquisition, and interpretive planning documents provided considerable data on operation of the park and

cemetery during the period from the late 1960s to the early 1980s. The study by Lee was helpful in understanding the events surrounding the establishment and development of the park and cemetery.



As the nation's principal conservation agency, the Department of the Interior has responsibility for most of our nationally owned public lands and natural and cultural resources. This includes fostering wise use of our land and water resources, protecting our fish and wildlife, preserving the environmental and cultural values of our national parks and historical places, and providing for the enjoyment of life through outdoor recreation. The department assesses our energy and mineral resources and works to ensure that their development is in the best interests of all our people. The department also promotes the goals of the Take Pride in America campaign by encouraging stewardship and citizen responsibility for the public lands and promoting citizen participation in their care. The department also has a major responsibility for American Indian reservation communities and for people who live in island territories under U.S. administration.

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